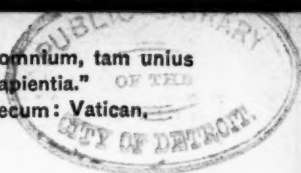


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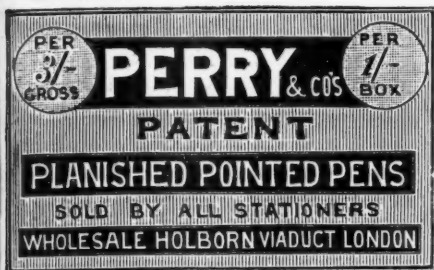
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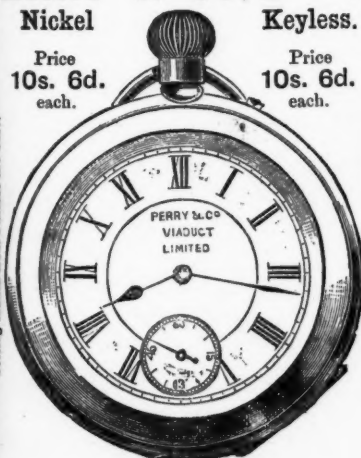


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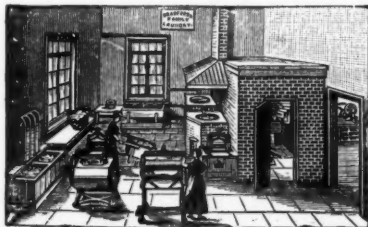
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RECORD OF ROMAN DOCUMENTS (*at the end*).

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1887.

ART. I.—M. EMERY, SUPERIOR OF ST. SULPICE,
1789—1811.

M. EMERY was superior of the Congregation of St. Sulpice and of the Ecclesiastical Seminary of Paris during the French Revolution, and on through the best part of the rule of Napoleon. A devoted Churchman, in the stress of the Revolution he could not find it in his heart either to conspire, or rant, or run away; but, yielding to the successive paroxysms of *de facto* authority, as he thought it befitting in a servant of one whose kingdom was not of this world, did yet oppose to every enactment which he saw to be contrary to the law of God or of the Church a resistance as steadfast as the everlasting hills. Brought up on Gallican principles, he was none the less a strenuous defender of Papal rights against secular tyranny, even when this was supported by the dangerous concessions of sordid or craven prelates. Often persecuted to the death by the Revolutionary tribunals, he was continually denounced by ardent exiles as a traitor both to Church and Throne: yet lived he on, and survived to die with the halo on his eighty years of the almost universal approbation both of friend and foe, justly regarded as an incarnation of ecclesiastical prudence and self-sacrificing devotion, and as a precious link between the old—pre-revolution—world and the new. His life may afford matter of legitimate curiosity to thinkers of every shade of opinion and sympathetic bias, if only of as much as might attach to a brood-hen sitting quietly on her nest the night through amidst a wilderness of foxes.

We have two lives of M. Emery, one by the learned Sulpician, M. Gosselin, in 1861, the other by the Abbé Meric in 1885. The latter gives various interesting documents *in extenso* which are only referred to in the former, and fuller extracts from M.

Emery's private papers, but the style and sentiment of the earlier "Life" is more in keeping with its subject, and to my mind is by far the pleasanter reading.*

Jacques André Emery was born at Gex in Picardy, in the year 1732, of a respectable family of the long robe, a class from which so many of the best type of Frenchmen have sprung. Louis XV. was on the throne, and France, with a corrupt court infecting its upper classes, a clergy distracted by religious controversy, a commerce ruined by war and reckless speculation, and a literature that at its best only half believed in anything of good report, at its worst took virtue and religion as its natural prey, was steadily drifting into that deadlock which issued in the Revolution. There is only one incident recorded of Emery's childhood, but it is amusingly like the man. For some piece of childish mischief his father was going to beat him; the boy made a run for it, but the father, although a cripple, soon managed to catch him. We are told that whilst our hero was undergoing his doubly earned punishment, his mind was wholly absorbed by the problem of how it came about that he with two good legs had failed to escape from his father, who had only one.

After passing through his school and college course with considerable distinction, he entered, just before receiving priest's orders, the Congregation of St. Sulpice. This celebrated congregation, to which the Church of France owes a unique debt of gratitude, had been founded by M. Olier in the first half of the preceding century. It was devoted entirely, to the exclusion of every other work, to the training of ecclesiastical students for the secular priesthood. The aim of the Sulpicians was to make their men specialists, if they might be so called in a field which is so large, in all that appertained to the ecclesiastical vocation, but above all to train them to that independence of character and distinctness of aim without which a priest cannot be in the world and not of it. In their intercourse with their students they are distinguished from ordinary professors, even of theology, by a genuine familiarity. In their studies, religious exercises, and amusements the life of the professors and students is one, to a degree unknown outside the walls of a monastery, and seldom even there. The consequence was that the student generally carried away an affection and reverence for his old masters which survived all the vicissitudes of a long life of influences the most adverse to his early training, and either preserved him against them or at least brought him home at last. The thoughts that

* For further notices of M. Emery, see Picot's "*Mémoires pour Servir,*" Cardinal Consalvi's "*Mémoires,*" M. Icard's "*Observations sur quelques pages de la Continuation de l'Histoire de l'Abbé Darra*," 1886.

opened the way to Talleyrand's death-bed repentance were the souvenirs of St. Sulpice.*

As an instance of the Sulpicians' entire devotion to the interests of religion, I may mention that, when Canada became ours in 1765, sooner than relinquish their seminary work in Montreal it was agreed that the Sulpicians of Canada should become British subjects, and be released from all dependence upon the mother house in France. On what this must have cost Frenchmen, and the Sulpicians were French to their finger ends, I need hardly dwell.

In the theological disputes of the day among which their congregation first saw the light, the Sulpicians took as little direct part as possible, whilst quietly on all occasions taking the side of ecclesiastical authority. They dealt with life, and only indirectly with opinion, exhibiting for the remedy of existing evils what might be called a kitchen or dietary treatment as contrasted with the drastic measures of the professed controversialist. In this course they were eminently successful, and it is to their labours more than to any other cause that the Church of France owes the fidelity during the critical period of the Revolution of so many of both orders of her clergy. They cultivated moderation as a science; and by this it is by no means meant that they were neutrals or trimmers. They firmly adhered to the decisions of the Holy See and of the *major et sanior pars* of the Episcopate, but they carefully abstained from all that might in any way wound or irritate, without convincing, those of the opposite party with whom they might be brought into contact. They did not hesitate to minister, when allowed, even in dioceses in which the authorities were known to be secretly opposed to the Bull "Unigenitus." Contented to give half a loaf as better than no bread, they invariably managed in the long run to give nothing less than the whole.

One of the first places to which M. Emery was appointed was that of Professor of Moral Theology at the Seminary of St. Irenæus at Lyons, of which the Archbishop was precisely one of these favourers of the party of the Appeal as it was called. Here he had a very difficult part to play, but he managed either to win the Archbishop over for the moment to his own view of the disputed points, or to mark his opposition without giving offence. The truth is, the rôle of moderation, where principles are in any degree at stake, requires a very strong man to sustain; one who has a firm and distinct grasp of all the principles bearing on the subject, and a clear view of their application in every detail. Without this it is impossible for him to give so much without

* See "Vie de Mgr. Dupanloup," par Lagrange.

losing all, or being frightened out of the idea of conciliation for ever. He will hardly walk so near the edge without falling over, or at least, if he does maintain his position, it is at the cost of spasmodic efforts, now on this side now on that, to preserve his balance, efforts which are often far more irritating to opponents than the strongest antagonism. In this art, if so it can be called, and not rather a virtue or gift—the gift of prudence—M. Emery was a proficient, and he was destined to exercise it in the highest interests and under the most critical circumstances. After being six years Superior of the Seminary of Angers, during a great part of which he performed the work of Vicar-General of the diocese, he was in 1782, when just fifty, raised to the office of Superior-General of the Congregation of St. Sulpice, to which was attached the immediate superintendence of the Paris house. This was perhaps as trying a position as a man could occupy in those times. The air was full of revolutionary sentiment. There was a widespread suspicion that the day of the clergy was over, that they were out of date; that in the region of morals the reign of the *philosophe* had begun. Even within the sacred walls of the Seminary the sentiments of Rousseau and the air, if not the morals, of Voltaire were beginning to find a foothold, and there were seminarists when M. Emery undertook the superintendence who had persuaded themselves that the character of the *petit maitre* and the *philosophe* might be advantageously combined with that of the cleric. The rising generation of ecclesiastics, without being quit as yet of the old allurements of a brilliant career and rich endowment, were exposed to the sickening influence of a scepticism which tended to deprive such allurements of their legitimate counterpoise.

M. Emery's first efforts were directed against the extravagant dandyism of his subjects. Long hair, powdered and frizzed into three stages supported by pins, was becoming fashionable among the students. He delivered to the seminary a most powerful address on the subject—a grave address, amply supported by quotations from Fathers and Councils, but with a subtle vein of irony running through it, which was never allowed, by the traditional tact of St. Sulpice, to degenerate into anything harsh or rude. Without ever “putting the boy upon the man,” to use an old English expression, he managed to speak to them as to gentlemen who were his children. He succeeded in reducing the hair culture of the seminary within decent bounds, and M. Le Friseur was heard to complain that his annual income had been docked to the amount of eight thousand livres. But it required continuous solicitude and unsparing labour before the frivolous seminarists of that day could be moulded into fit material for the martyrs of the Revolution.

There was a hard rebellious element among the students which refused for a considerable time to submit itself to M. Emery's firm but gentle sway. We are told of one—a supposed somnambulist—who was seen to creep into the Superior's room at night and drive a knife into the bed, fortunately unoccupied; and later on of a gunpowder explosion in the dead of night, but which produced more alarm than mischief. However, after the expulsion of a few of the ringleaders, things began gradually to settle down, and week after week the new Superior gained more and more the respect and affection of his subjects. At that time, for one reason or another, probably owing to the failure of many of the *petit séminaires*, mere boys of fourteen or fifteen were sent up to St. Sulpice, who had never been away from home before. One of these, M. de Villèle (afterwards Bishop of Bourges), tells us that M. Emery, finding how strange and homesick the poor lad was, gave him *carte blanche* to come to his room at all hours, whenever he was inclined. He would come in with a "Mon père, je m'ennuie," and the response was always, "Pauvre enfant, il s'ennuie," and the Superior would at once forego any employment, however important, and devote himself to interest and amuse the boy until the dreary fit had passed. M. Emery could, however, be stern enough on occasion. Years after, one of those whom he had expelled for insubordination, and who had afterwards been made bishop, came to visit him. Whilst seated at recreation with the students, his lordship began to talk of old times, and, addressing himself to the Superior, reminded him of the merciless way in which he had packed off all the rebels; concluding with: "Well, those you expelled are all three bishops, and the one you pardoned, the poor informer, isn't." M. Emery, who felt that this was not quite the thing for his seminarists to listen to, replied with extreme gravity, "Vous êtes trois aujourd'hui évêques! Et qui vous a dit, monseigneur, que ce n'est point une suite de la punition?"

He was an extraordinary judge of character. For some time he had astonished and somewhat scandalized his colleagues by his persistent toleration of the vagaries of a certain young De Retz, a very disedifying student though in deacon's orders, sufficiently attractive to be a thoroughly mischievous companion, and frequently causing deliberate annoyance to his superiors. "He ought to have been sent away long ago," they said; "what can M. le Supérieur be dreaming of?" And so it went on for some considerable time. One evening, towards the end of the vacations of 1783, De Retz went out into the garden with sundry of his companions, and sat talking with them by the fountain. He fell into a long fit of silence, gazing steadfastly at the sky, then thronged with stars. Suddenly he broke out with a terrible cry,

"Beau ciel, je ne te verrais donc jamais," weeping the heart-broken tears of a St. Peter or a St. Augustine. From that moment De Retz became a changed man, leading a life of extraordinary piety and mortification. They used to find the places where he had been kneeling wet with his tears. So deep an impression did his saintly penitence make upon all in the house, that we are told that after he left the seminary M. Emery would resort for his private devotions to the poor cell which, at De Retz's own request, had been given him over the granary, saying that it was still full of the odour of his sanctity, and that there he hoped to be allowed to live and die when he could retire from the superiorship. De Retz devoted himself to the Chinese mission. On the eve of his departure, when some of his seminary friends suggested that he was going out to seek martyrdom, he made them the significant answer, "Messieurs, le martyre viendra peut-être vous trouver, sans que vous alliez le chercher." Indeed martyrdom, with many other things good and bad, had long been in the air. As long ago as when M. Emery was Superior of Angers, having noticed that the seminarists were in the habit of leaving their places in the refectory before the reader had concluded the last phrase in the martyrology, which was always, after the martyrs of the day had been named, "et alibi aliorum sanctorum martyrum," &c., he thus checked the disorder: "Messieurs, vous n'écoutez pas avec attention cet endroit de la lecture, qui est cependant le plus intéressant pour vous. Vous ne pouvez guère compter que votre nom soit un jour inséré dans le corps du martyrologe, mais vous pouvez très-bien espérer d'être un jour compris dans l'alibi."

It was mainly through the instrumentality of De Retz, and others like him, that M. Emery was able to bring about the reformation that he desired. He himself, although overwhelmed with business thrust upon him on all sides, both from within and without, was always the first in every religious exercise, frequently conducting them himself. He often lectured on various branches of ecclesiastical learning, encouraging to the utmost M. Olier's special devotion to the "written word of God." He was fond of appealing to non-Catholic philosophers, such as Leibnitz and Bacon, as witnesses against those who were attempting to crush religion in the name of philosophy.* Such was the tenour of the pre-Revolution period of his superiorship. It was a seven years' preparation for the most terrible of all trials, that of a strong man unarmed in a mortal crisis who may neither fight nor flee, but whose every movement is fraught, not

* He subsequently published two works with this object, "*L'Esprit de Leibnitz*" and "*La Christianisme de Bacon*."

only with the responsibility of self-preservation under the most difficult circumstances, but with that of the safety of numbers of defenceless persons more or less dependent upon his advice and example.

For just a moment, in the early days of July (1789), we catch a glimpse of the keen-eyed, active man, eager to see others perform the duty which was not his. Some days before the fall of the Bastille, M. Emery gave the Marshal de Broglie warning of what was coming; but a creeping paralysis, half fear, half philanthropy, possessed Court and King, and M. Emery quickly saw that he had for the future for all practical purposes to reckon with the people, and with the people only. It became his one object to fall in cheerfully with the popular action as fully and as far as the laws of God and of the Church permitted. Soon after the taking of the Bastille, he was threatened with a visit from the mob, who knew that two of De Broglie's sons were seminarists. M. Emery having secured a secret outlet of escape for such of the seminarists as he had not already disposed of—sixty out of the hundred had already taken refuge with their friends—calmly awaited the visit, with a good stock of bread, wine, and money wherewith to entertain his importunate guests, and if thereto they wanted blood, why, as he said, they might have his and welcome. However the visit was for the time postponed. The seminary went to its vocations at Issy in October, just after the massacre of the King's body guards, amongst whom was a near relative of the Superior's. All the ordinary duties of the seminary were continued without interruption until the approach of the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille in 1790, when a call was made upon all classes of citizens to assist in preparing the Champs de Mars for a grand civic celebration. M. Emery thought it advisable to send a band of seminarists, armed with spade and pickaxe, and accompanied by several of their directors, to assist in the work. They were fortunately soon able to retire. The mob chafed the young men good humouredly about seminary restraints, and promised to pay them a visit and carry them all off to the ball on the grand day. "Fortunately," as a seminarist remarked, "when the day came they had forgotten us."

M. Emery made no difficulty in taking the oath of fidelity to the Constitution, administered on July 10: "*Je jure d'être fidèle à la Nation, à la Loi, et au Roi, et de maintenir de tout mon pouvoir la Constitution décrétée par l'Assemblée Nationale et sanctionnée par le Roi.*" This was generally accepted by the bishops and priests of France as a purely civic act, the decree of the "*Constitution Civile du Clergé*" not having yet come into operation. The National Assembly insisted upon taking two of the principal rooms of St. Sulpice for the sittings of the Luxem-

bourg section of deputies, and another large room they occupied with soldiers. M. Emery, although acutely feeling the infliction, received the deputies with the most perfect good humour, saw that everything was made comfortable for them, and took care that a good hot luncheon found its way up to them every day. This last attention they never forgot; indeed, its memory stood between M. Emery and the guillotine on more than one occasion. He would sometimes attend their debates, which, indeed, were often distinctly audible through the folding-doors. He told his Seminarists that the natural eloquence of a certain *ci-devant* butcher surpassed anything that he had ever heard, and that on one occasion he would have been completely carried away against his better judgment, unless his mind had been thoroughly made up on the point. After some further delay the Assembly insisted upon the administration of the oath of acceptance of the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," which completely secularized the dioceses of France and severed them from all connection with the Holy See. This was refused by all the bishops save two, and by the vast majority of the priests. Amongst these the Sulpicians were conspicuous for the unanimity and distinctness with which they testified their refusal. The consequence was the general dissolution of their establishments. In Paris the Curé of St. Sulpice from the pulpit publicly refused the oath, and narrowly escaped with his life from the hands of the infuriated mob. He was supported by the community of St. Sulpice. Within the seminary itself the oath was not actually administered, which enabled the religious exercises and studies to go on *sub rosa*, for a time longer, very much as usual. In the meantime M. Emery, as Superior-General, addressed a circular to his brethren, in which he announces his intention of remaining at Paris to form a centre of union for the scattered Sulpicians, whom he encourages to continue their work as far as possible in the form of schools of private venture. He bids them in thrilling words rejoice at least in this, that they are suffering clearly for the cause of God, and that the death of the Congregation must needs be "*pretiosa in conspectu Domini*." He begs them, as far as may be, to omit nothing of their ancient way of life, concluding with the solemn blessing, "*Deus pacis det vobis pacem sempiternam in omni loco*."

After the consecration by Talleyrand of the Constitutional bishops, and the intrusion of Gobel into the see of Paris, M. Emery took the precaution to put what he valued most of the treasures of the community—viz., the various relics of the saints and of the ancient fathers of the congregation, into the charge of a certain Marquise de Villette, who was well known as one of the great friends and favourites of Voltaire, but who had been lately

reconciled to the Church by M. Emery. These relics owed their security to their being deposited in Voltaire's old house, which he had left to the Marquise, and being in consequence generally regarded as somehow or other appertaining to that philosopher. With the seminarists and directors who still remained M. Emery continued the ordinary exercises and studies, adding thereto daily readings from the "Acts of the Martyrs," and keeping every Friday as a strict fast in preparation for death. On the occasion of the King's flight, in June 1791, the country house at Issy was ransacked to see if it had not afforded a refuge to the fugitives. The fatal tenth of August, 1792, when the Tuileries were stormed, found remnants of the Sulpician community still in existence both in Paris and Issy, and they have left on record that some of the wounded Switzers were laid for a time in the courtyard of St. Sulpice, *en route* for the hospital. Then came the September massacres. Amongst those confined in the Carmes, and who fell in the massacre of September 2, were eight of the congregation of St. Sulpice, though not of the Paris house. M. Emery actually managed to visit his imprisoned brethren at the Carmes. After the massacre it seemed to M. Emery and his companions that for certain their time was come. They were even informed that the Superior had been actually delated, and of the very day on which they were to be all removed to one of the prisons, which in that September season were fast becoming mere shambles. They assembled in their chapel for confession and communion, and encouraged one another to meet death with constancy. However, a benign influence had interposed, neither wholly spiritual nor wholly material, but of a mixed character, the tender memory of a savoury past. Under its inspiration first one deputy then another of the Luxembourg section rose and testified to the civic virtues of Citoyen Emery; to the altogether particular attentions by which he had proved his affection for the cause of the people in the persons of its representatives, providing for their wants with a careful completeness that left nothing to desire. One is reminded of the dictum of George Eliot's Mrs. Linnet. If "hard carrots 'ull lie heavy on the stomach, piety or no piety," the reverse fortunately is also true, "patriotism or no patriotism." Thus again, for a time, was the danger averted. M. Emery took the opportunity of disposing of the remaining seminarists with their friends, and remained alone in the Paris house with three or four of his colleagues.

At this time a most critical question arose to divide the Orthodox (non-constitutional) clergy—viz., the lawfulness of taking the following oath, which was formally proposed to them in the September of this year: "Je jure de maintenir de tout mon pouvoir la liberté, l'égalité, la sûreté des personnes et des pro-

piétés, et de mourir, s'il le fallait pour l'exécution de la loi." It appears that the question of its lawfulness had been eagerly discussed in the prison of the Carmes just before the massacre, and that those for and against were about equal. Could it be lawfully taken? The alternative was enforced exile, and a people left without lawful priestly ministration. Under these circumstances M. Emery betook himself to the Corps Législatif itself, and especially to the Girondist deputy, M. Gensonnée, the acknowledged author of the decree. He presented him with his own reading of the oath in the sense in which he thought it might be taken, asking him whether his sense was the sense intended. M. Gensonnée replied, without hesitation, that it was. Upon this M. Emery and a large number of the clergy took the oath, being careful, however, to have the sense in which they took it registered. His interpretation came to this—that "liberty" meant liberty from arbitrary power; "equality," equal punishment, equal taxation, and equal aspiration to State offices, thus excluding privilege on the one side, and servitude on the other. Moreover, according to M. Emery, and those who thought with him, it was merely an undertaking to defend a *de facto* legality, and not a profession of faith in an article of the "*Droits des Hommes*." In this latter sense, however, it was understood and repudiated by very many of the clergy and bishops, especially among the exiles, and M. Emery found himself denounced in many quarters as nothing less than a traitor and an apostate. He was vehemently attacked by Monseigneur—afterwards Cardinal—Maury, who tried to persuade him that the Pope (Pius VI.) had in private condemned him, and that there was nothing for it but to follow the example of Fenelon and retract. M. Emery answered that he had taken every precaution before committing himself to the oath, that the emergency being so pressing and no direction having come from Rome, one way or the other, they had to act. That, on the understanding that the Pope was opposed to the oath, were it to take again, he would refuse, but that as to retracting, unless the Pope should prescribe retraction, he would not undertake the responsibility of an act which would involve the destruction of the whole of the non-constitutional clergy. What tried M. Emery more than anything else was the scandal taken by some of his own Sulpicians, who were in exile, at his conduct. He concludes a very noble letter to one of these weaker brethren with the suggestion that perhaps his critic had felt an undue complacency in the conduct of the congregation, and that this frailty on the part of the Superior may have been required for its mortification. "But have patience!" he exclaims, "for there will be a compensation greater perhaps than you could have hoped or even wished"—meaning his own martyrdom. He fully

expected, as matters were then developing, that there would be a general massacre of the non-constitutional clergy. In this he was mistaken, but only, it would seem, because the Revolution had become too omnivorous for any systematized scheme of destruction. Soon after the King's death, in January 1793, the prisons began to fill with persons of every shade of political opinion—Royalists and Girondists, Orthodox clergy and Constitutionalists—nor were there wanting to complete the *menu* Republicans of the extreme type, who had managed somehow or other to give offence to their dread mother, the one and indivisible, and were in consequence submitted to the stern discipline of the guillotine.

Ever since the intrusion of the Constitutionalist bishop Gobel, M. Emery had been acting as one of the Vicars-General of the exiled Archbishop of Paris. In May a letter was intercepted which M. Emery was transmitting to that prelate. The letter was from the Abbé Edgeworth, also acting at the time as a Vicar-General. It was politically sufficiently colourless, but M. Emery's papers were seized, and after he had been kept six days at the Mairie, where he was subjected to various interrogatories, he was lodged in the prison of Ste. Pélagie, as "*prevenu de correspondance contre-révolutionnaire*," in those days a very sufficient introduction to the guillotine. After another six days, however, he was released, on the very day of the fall of the Gironde, through the intervention of various friends, among whom we are glad to recognize some of his *ci-devant* guests of the section Luxembourg, and once again the same influence was exercised in obtaining for M. Emery free lodgings in the house of St. Sulpice, evidently by the same persons, although appearing for the moment under the imposing title of "*Section Mutius Scævola*," after which, as an influence for good, we hear of the Luxembourg deputies no more.

Six days after his delivery from Ste. Pélagie a summons was sent to the prison by the public accuser requiring him to appear before the revolutionary tribunal; his friends had only just been in time. At least it was a chance of death evaded, and a few weeks' reprieve secured, and in those swift-footed days a little time might mean a great deal. The 16th of July found M. Emery under arrest, with forty others, including some Sulpicians, who had been secured when resorting to him for advice. The Convention seems to have been subjected just then to an acute accession of anti-sacerdotalism, and we are pained to find a "*Comité révolutionnaire de la section du Luxembourg*" thus hounding on Pouquier Tainville in his work of priest-hunting. "*Nous vous prions d'envoyer de francs patriotes qui puissent découvrir ces traîtres tout en Dieu.*" His companions were dismissed, but M. Emery, after sustaining a long interrogatory on very much the old charges, which may be summed up under the head

"incivisme," was committed at first to the Carmes, and then, on August 4, to the Conciergerie. In this prison he lay until April 4, 1794, when he was removed to the prison of the Collège du Plessis, where he remained till he obtained his liberty in the following October, an imprisonment altogether of about fifteen months. This was in many respects the most remarkable period of M. Emery's life. He entered upon his imprisonment with the conviction that he was to die, and that very speedily. His first care was to make arrangements for supplying his place in the conduct of the Sulpician congregation. We have his letters of advice to sundry of the dispersed members and to the House in Baltimore which he had established just at the beginning of the troubles, and which he looked upon as a possible refuge for those amongst them who were forced to leave France for ever. These letters are full of kind remembrances to students and old servants, but they are the letters of one who entertains no doubt but that his fate is sealed. Of himself, as ever, he speaks cheerfully, but very modestly: "he believes that he is ready." But that is no reason why he should alter in any way his old Sulpician way of life. The room in which he is confined during the day is a large one, filled with prisoners of all sorts and conditions, but he finds a corner to himself, and there begins the day with his hour's prayer and several hours' study. The noise is distracting, in spite of the cotton-wool with which he plugs his ears, but with bread-crumbs he is fairly successful. Of books he has two besides his Breviary, a Bible (the large edition of Venice) and a Summa of St. Thomas Aquinas. Afterwards he congratulated himself upon having gone through the last consecutively for the first time, having previously only known portions. Every day for several hours he thus sat at work at a little table, with his crucifix before him, and beside it a little well-executed model of the guillotine. He liked to get used to things, he said. When his prayer and reading were over he was always ready to make himself useful to his companions in small things as well as in great: first, if it might be in any way possible, to reconcile them to God, and so enable them to meet with courage the death which to many was so imminent; secondly, to cheer them and keep them going, with the same cordial self-forgetfulness with which he devoted himself to the poor lad "qui s'ennuie." He converted numbers, amongst others three of the Constitutional bishops, including Gobel, the intruded of Paris, and Aglé, a young "fille publique" of twenty, who abashed her brutal judges by the brilliant audacity of her defiance. Two young officers who had fallen under his influence became of great assistance in bringing up others to him, and acting as a sort of catechist. There is extant a letter of one of them, in which he describes himself as M. Emery's "chien courant,"

to put up the hares for him. Others tell us that this same young man never missed his two hours' prayer every day. Indeed something was wanted both to cheer and soothe the ghastly monotony of a life in which the tumbril daily carried off its load of victims, and no one in that fluid society knew whose turn would come next, and when, mere ghastly still, the air became rife with rumours of a fate compared with which the guillotine's embrace were a "consummation devoutly to be wished"—when a frenzied mass might break in at any moment, and sabre and knife and crooked nail, anticipate the delays of justice.

Most wonderful was M. Emery's popularity with all classes in the prison. He was unanimously elected their president; and when, on one occasion, a larger wave than usual of new prisoners came in, and, declining to be bound by the previous election, insisted upon a fresh one, again the unanimous choice fell upon M. Emery. He laughed and said he supposed the note of *Père Supérieur* was to stick to him to the last. He managed through some kind friends to procure an extra good table for the prisoners during the Carnival time, and then got them all to keep a strict fast on the Ash Wednesday. In fact he did very much what he liked with them. He was sixty-two years of age at this time. We have his portrait, though taken some ten years afterwards, and it is a sufficiently remarkable one: an immense dome-like forehead, an under jaw like the girder of a bridge, and betwixt, almost like a tortoise within its shell, vivacious eyes, delicate nose, protruding under lip; a face of vast power, much refinement and kindness, yet with a certain grotesqueness of angle. He had all the dexterous conversational sword play which distinguished the age of Voltaire, combined with a kindly considerateness for every form of trouble which won all hearts. A man of wide reading, and, in spite of his incessant occupation, exceedingly well versed in scientific investigation, he was never at a loss for matter of conversation. Of an aftertime we are told that, so much had M. Emery's ability fascinated a young man of the period, that he asked a friend if it were possible so clever a man could believe in religion. The other rejoined, "Go and see M. Emery say Mass, and you will not any more ask whether he believes." He was the life and soul of the prison. "Ce petit prêtre," as Robespierre called him, "qui empêche les autres de crier"; whilst, in recognition of a yet deeper debt, women and even men have been seen to kiss the place where he had been standing. Amongst his companions in the Conciergerie were the Duke and Duchess de Noailles Mouchy, who were shortly afterwards guillotined. "Ne craignez rien," the latter writes to her two daughters, "nous ne succomberons point à la tentation; nous avons ici un ange qui nous garde."

Whilst in this prison M. Emery slept in a chamber immediately below that occupied by the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, and he had the privilege of administering consolation to that matchless sorrow. One midnight, with the connivance of one of the officials, after informing the Queen of what was to take place, he mounted the staircase to her room door, where, after a few moments' conversation, he was able to give her absolution. He was visited from time to time by a priest, who managed to exchange a pyx full of hosts for the one which he had emptied, so that he was seldom without the means of communicating himself and others who required it.

But how was it that, when so many perished, M. Emery continued to be spared—that his course to the guillotine was arrested until the fashion languished and gradually changed? Not from any goodwill on the part of Robespierre or Fouquier Tainville we are assured, although, as I have noticed, the former recognized a certain usefulness in him in regard to keeping others quiet: he was to die anyhow, sooner or later. Twice at least his name appeared in the programme of the day's victims. Once the advocate Barbier, an influential and devoted friend of Emery's, who was employed to revise the list, obtained its erasure at the price of a hundred louis. Another time, on finding Emery's name head the list, he managed to exceptionalize it, *emphasis gratia*, as that of a "chef de partie" who must be exceptionally dealt with, and so bracketed it off. I think Providence meant him to live for the sake of the many to whom he made death easy. I think, moreover, that it is hard to kill, except by accident, a man who never either funks or sulks, even in a Reign of Terror. On one occasion M. Emery was actually under orders to mount the next tumbril, but, so it was, when the tumbril came his name was not called. Thus the eventful months slipped by: July 27, 1794, saw the fall of Robespierre, and on the 25th of the next October M. Emery was let out of prison. Men were beginning to look round and calculate damages, and see what yet remained to them, as the great swell of the inundation gradually receded. They were more or less sick of blood, and would fain find some *modus vivendi* one with the other, and the prisons gradually disgorged the remaining victims.

On February 21, 1795, the Convention decreed "La liberté des cultes," which allowed Catholic priests to open a certain number of oratories both in Paris and in the provinces. On May 30 from all such officiating priests was exacted an oath of "submission to the laws of the Republic." M. Emery was not obliged to take it, as he was exercising no public function; but, as the universal referee on all such matters, he gave it as his unqualified opinion that such an oath was perfectly lawful. The Government had

been careful to point out that the "civil constitution of the clergy" no longer formed a portion of these laws. The clergy of Paris for the most part, and a large number of the provincial clergy, took the oath, and their conduct subsequently received the approbation of Pius VI., but many refused. On the 29th of September the Government, irritated by the opposition of a considerable number of the clergy, imposed another oath running as follows: "Je reconnais que l'universalité des Français est le Souverain; et je promets soumission et obéissance aux lois de la République." The question of the lawfulness of the new oath gave rise to the most violent disputes, and almost created a schism. The Archiepiscopal Council, which represented the exiled Archbishop of Paris, contented itself with insisting that each party should tolerate the other until the Holy See should pronounce. M. Emery, who was a member of the Council, was absent on a visit to his native place in Picardy, but he was quite in accord with the Council's judgment. He underwent something like a persecution at the hands of those who were determined to force an opinion from him one way or the other. He confined himself as far as possible to drawing out the principles and authorities upon which the question turned, and the alternative senses of the decree, thus supplying to each one the material for forming his own opinion. Yet it is sufficiently clear that he thought the oath might be taken. Writing very frankly on the subject to a friend at a distance, he shows plainly that, though disbelieving in the sovereignty of the people as an essential inalienable right, and therefore recognizing that it would be unlawful for him to take the oath in this sense, he thought the phrase in the decree admitted of being interpreted as a mere assertion of the *de facto* sovereignty of the French people, and a profession of submitting thereto. He never was called upon practically to decide the question for himself. In October 1795 the Government of the Directory succeeded to that of the Convention, and in September 1797 they proposed to the clergy yet another oath, which had already been exacted from the two Councils of State and all public functionaries: "Le serment de haine à la royauté et à l'anarchie, d'attachement et de fidélité à la République et à la Constitution de l'An III." This was accompanied by a declaration which explained that the oath did not imply any hatred of kings as such, or any position as to the best form of government in the abstract, but was simply an expression of determined hostility to the violent efforts of kings on the one hand and anarchists on the other to upset the established government. Here, again, opinions were divided, but the mass of the clergy were decidedly against its lawfulness. M. Emery's efforts were all directed to the preservation of peace, and

to prevent the difference of opinion issuing in a schism. For his part, he thought that the oath, in the light of the declaration, might be taken. It was reported that Pius VI. had by word of mouth condemned the oath, but irrespective of the declaration, which apparently had not been brought under his notice. M. Emery abstained from giving any direct advice upon the matter, but his views were very generally known. His conduct in regard to these various tests of loyalty which were successively proposed by the Revolutionary Government was at least consistent. It was based upon the lawfulness and supreme expedience in the interests of religion of accepting all the pronouncements of *de facto* authority which were not in distinct opposition to the principles of morality or religion, in default of any decision to the contrary of the Head of the Church. In spite of the violent opposition he had to encounter from so many of his brethren, I venture to think that his conduct on the whole has been typical of the conduct of the Church in like contingencies. M. Emery had, perhaps, a larger share than any other ecclesiastic of his day in resetting the limbs of ecclesiastical discipline in the Church of France during the reflux of the Revolution which ended in the supremacy of Napoleon. His advice was sought by all parties. He was mainly instrumental in bringing back numbers of the Constitutional clergy to the obedience of the Church, and in providing homes and, where this was possible, fresh establishments for the religious whom the Revolution had scattered. To this period belongs his book entitled "*Le Christianisme de Bacon*," in which he continued his favourite scheme of appealing to every phase of sane philosophy against the *philosophes* of his day. It appeared in 1799, and subsequently provoked the strictures of that brilliant irreconcilable, De Maistre, who pretended that Emery had been led astray by a wandering fire which he had mistaken for a ray of the sun. In 1799 Napoleon, as First Consul, succeeded to the Directory, and in 1800 M. Emery found himself in a position to reconstitute the establishment of St. Sulpice in a small house in the Rue St. Jacques, and soon after obtained possession of the Church of St. Sulpice. Amongst the new students we meet with the names of De Quelen and Affres, who held successively the Archbishopric of Paris.

We now enter upon the third and last period of M. Emery's career, that which brought him in contact with Napoleon. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the effect produced upon Churchmen, who had seen all their cherished institutions overwhelmed in the vortex of the Revolution, although it had of late sullenly begun to give up its dead, by the first conciliatory overtures of Napoleon. From amid the dragon folds of the Revolution there appeared for the first time the figure of a man dominant over the dragon; a

man who might be appealed to and treated with, who had evidently conservative instincts, who would fain do something besides destroy. His gracious manifesto to the clergy of Milan, containing something very much like a profession of Catholic Christianity, which was issued a few days before the battle of Marengo, was hailed with enthusiasm by the French clergy as an earnest of better things. At the interview of the Vicar-Generals with Napoleon on his return to the capital, M. Emery produced a copy of the manifesto, and asked whether it might be reprinted. Napoleon's only remark was "Prenez garde au Ministre de la Police." Obstacles were thrown in the way of reconciliation by the violent opposition excited principally by the émigrés against a very inoffensive form of the oath of submission to the Constitution. Cardinal Maury circulated the report that the oath had been condemned by the new Pope, Pius VII. This cardinal, whom we shall meet again tame enough upon the Imperial wrist, is thus sharply etched by one of M. Emery's correspondents: "Le Cardinal Maury est connu depuis longtemps comme donnant ses pensées pour celles des autres, et ses décisions pour celles de Rome. Un fait certain, c'est qu'il ne sait et ne saura rien."

In the excitement of newly kindled hope it was difficult even for the most prudent to walk with sufficient circumspection. M. Emery got himself into trouble by distributing a pamphlet on behalf of a friend who had been imprisoned amongst the lunatics of Bicêtre for preaching against the excesses of the Revolution. His papers were seized and he was thrown into prison. This time it was a small room at the Prefecture of Police, meant to hold twelve prisoners, but in which M. Emery made the sixtieth, and this in the stifling heat of July. Men and women, respectable and the reverse of respectable, but all of the poorest class, were crammed in together. But nothing in the form of prison life came amiss to M. Emery. He established a common table at his own expense, and turned over the bed his friends had brought him for the use of the women. He devoted a good deal of his time to the instruction of a small child he found amongst the prisoners. After a week all the prisoners, except six and M. Emery, were drafted off into other quarters at the solicitation of M. Emery's friends, especially of Mademoiselle Jouen, his zealous disciple and benefactress, who were anxious for his health, to the great distress of the prisoners and to the old man's manifest annoyance. Mademoiselle Jouen, who visited him daily, says that this was the only occasion on which he ever really scolded her. After a detention of eighteen days he obtained his freedom, as nothing serious could be made out against him. On the morrow (July 16, 1801) the Concordat was signed between the Pope and the Emperor by Cardinal Consalvi, and in the ensuing month the

Pope demanded the resignation of the ancient French Episcopate. With this action of the Holy See M. Emery was thoroughly in accord, whilst recognizing its extreme and exceptional character, and he did his utmost to induce submission. He with great difficulty avoided the acceptance of three bishoprics which the Emperor tried successively to force upon him. On the contrary, the old man's object was, if possible, to resign his superiority of St. Sulpice. But his subjects, with whom he had still kept up relations during the tempest of the Revolution, were determined that he should not leave the helm now that they were entering upon less stormy but hardly less dangerous waters. By degrees he established the old seminary discipline in more convenient quarters. He managed, to his great satisfaction, to buy back a number of the books of the old library which had been dispersed, and the relics returned into his hands from their temporary sojourn in the house of Voltaire. But the old buildings adjacent to the Church of St. Sulpice he could not obtain, though once he got the Emperor's word for it, as they were condemned to fall in the interests of street improvement. The "old boys" of St. Sulpice rallied round him, and many of the ancient affectionate relations were re-established. He managed to buy back the old country house at Issy; and even when the congregation was on the verge of extinction—nay, had been formally extinguished by the Emperor—we find him at the end of his life quietly recovering it with an eye to the possible future.

M. Emery's relations with Napoleon were most noteworthy. The two men had this in common: they each possessed that particular kind of presence of mind which allows the judgment to act with increased precision and calmness as dangers thicken. Scarcely any one in the days of Napoleon's greatness—he had been declared Emperor in 1804—ever ventured to hint disagreement with anything he might advance, but M. Emery had no such scruples. On one occasion in 1805, in a private conversation, his comment upon a remark of the Emperor's was, "Sire, you are wrong!" "How? I wrong!" exclaimed Napoleon, but little used to be addressed in such language. "Sire," rejoined M. Emery, "you ask me for the truth, and it does not beseem either my age or my character to play the courtier. I am obliged therefore to tell your Majesty that you are wrong on this point, and in so doing I do not believe that I am failing in the respect that I owe you. Of old in the Sorbonne we used the same language, and even added, 'that is absurd,' and no one took offence, even if he were of royal blood, when maintaining the proposition that gave rise to it." Napoleon took it all very graciously, and dubbed M. Emery "his theologian." He repeatedly testified his respect and affection for the old Sulpician. "He is the only man

who can make me afraid," he said to Madame de Villette, M. Emery's relative. On one occasion he spoke of him as follows to the Count Molé: "He is the first instance I have met with of a man gifted with a real power over men, of whom I never demand an account of the use he will make of it. So far from it that I should like, if it were possible, to entrust to him the whole of our youth. I should die then with more confidence in the future." On one occasion, sooner than interrupt his talk with Emery, he let three kings kick their heels in his ante-chamber for a good half-hour, till the conversation—hardly calculated to be a very agreeable one, for M. Emery was expostulating with him on his treatment of the Pope—was concluded. In the course of this conversation the Emperor complained that an old theologian like M. Emery could not find him a way out of his difficulties with the Pope, boasting that had he leisure for a six months' course he could have found a way for himself. M. Emery answered, "Sire, you are indeed happy to be in a condition to master your theology in six months. For myself it is now more than fifty years that I have studied and even taught it, and I have not mastered it yet." M. Emery was sometimes the recipient of the curious favour which Napoleon would bestow, when very much pleased, upon those he liked, of being taken by the ear. The Prince Primate Archbishop of Ratisbon was much upset by being thus treated, and complained of it to M. Emery, who answered, laughing, "Monseigneur, I received the same favour as your Highness but dared not boast of it, but now I share it with so great a personage I shall tell every one."

In all their personal intercourse the Emperor never failed to treat M. Emery with consideration and even with affection. Nevertheless, he was haunted with suspicions, carefully fostered by Fouché, of the possible danger of M. Emery's influence, and in consequence the suppression of St. Sulpice was continually threatened, and, just before M. Emery's death, actually accomplished. Three times Napoleon tried hard to make him a bishop, probably as a mild form of suppression, and manifested for some time considerable displeasure at his refusal. But in 1808 he received and reluctantly accepted, as a distinct favour from the Emperor, the responsible office of Life-Councillor of the University. In 1809 he had to sit as one of a Commission, consisting besides of Cardinals Maury and Fesch, an archbishop, and four bishops, and the General of the Barnabites, to deliberate upon the relations between the Empire and the Holy See. M. Emery, as one of the secretaries testifies, sturdily upheld single-handed the rights of the Papacy, and refused to append his name to the report, which was signed by all the rest except the Barnabite, who had retired at an early stage of the proceedings

on the plea of ill-health. The report was to the effect that under the circumstances the Pope might be ignored, the new bishops instituted in spite of him, and his excommunication disregarded.

At the beginning of 1810 the question of the validity of Napoleon's marriage with Josephine was raised, with the view of enabling him to contract a second marriage with Marie Louise of Austria. As the line taken by M. Emery in the matter has been severely and very plausibly criticized, it will be well briefly to detail the circumstances bearing on the matter. Napoleon's marriage with the widow Beauharnais in 1796 had been contracted before the civil authority at a time when there was no difficulty in having recourse to the parish priest of the contracting parties. The marriage therefore, according to the law of the Church, was null. When the coronation of the Emperor and Empress was about to take place in 1804 a revalidation of the marriage was demanded both by the Pope and by Josephine. To this Napoleon gave his consent, but subsequently insisted that the ceremony should take place with the utmost secrecy in the Chapel of the Tuileries at midnight, without the presence either of the parish priest or any other witnesses: that is to say, without conditions which the Council of Trent demanded on pain of nullity. With these conditions it was of course open to the Pope to dispense. Cardinal Fesch, the Emperor's uncle, undertook the business. In his final interview with the Pope he did not indeed specify any particular matters for which he required dispensation, but merely suggested that in his position he might probably require very extended powers. The Pope's answer was "I give you all my powers." When it came to be an object with the Emperor to lay stress upon the absence of conditions necessary for the validity of the marriage, Cardinal Fesch protested that he had never asked for powers exceeding the ordinary faculties granted to prelates in his circumstances, and consequently had never asked or received powers to permit him to dispense with the conditions in question, thus acknowledging himself as an accomplice in a gross act of deception practised by the Emperor both on the Empress and the Pope. When Pius VII. was told of Fesch's contention he is said to have exclaimed, raising his hands to Heaven, "How can he say this when he knows that I gave him all my powers?" It is pretty clear that Fesch honestly asked and really obtained and executed the dispensation, and afterwards, in his subservience to his nephew, told a lie about it. The matter was not referred to the Pope in 1810, who was in confinement at Savona, but was submitted to a tribunal created for the purpose, with the sanction of the Commission above mentioned. The tribunal was threefold, representing the Diocese the Province, and the Primacy, with a graduated appeal from

the lowest *officialité*, as it was called, to the highest. On January 12 the marriage was declared null, on the ground of the absence of witnesses, for which no dispensation had been obtained. Neither the name of M. Emery, nor indeed that of Cardinal Fesch, appears attached to the sanction given by the Commission; but when pressed, as he always was on such occasions, for his opinion, he said that he was disposed to recognize: 1, The competence of the tribunal, seeing that it was custom only and not canon law which reserved questions concerning the marriage of princes to the Holy See, and that under existing circumstances such recurrence was practically impossible: 2, The soundness of the decision, grounded as it was upon Cardinal Fesch's testimony. In consequence he saw no reason for declining to participate in the ceremonial of the second marriage. It is difficult to deny the nullity of the revalidation on a plea not insisted on, but indicated as in reserve, viz., the absence of consent on the Emperor's part. Nothing is more clear than his determination not to bind himself, and that the absence of witnesses was insisted on for this very purpose. Josephine never appealed to the Pope, as Alison pretends. Although intensely distressed at the Emperor's action, which she had long foreseen, as Bourrienne tells us, she formally acquiesced in it. The correctness of M. Emery's view of the matter may, I conceive, be disputed; it was at least sincere and consistent.

In the June of this year the Congregation of St. Sulpice and its connection with the Seminary of Paris was formally suspended, and M. Emery was prohibited from residence within the Seminary walls. The Emperor was jealous of the Sulpicians, and especially their Superior, as interfering with his project of ecclesiastical centralization; but he still retained his personal regard for the man. At the crowded meeting of deputations to congratulate the Emperor on the New Year (1811), Napoleon, who was passing in silence down the long lines, suddenly stopped in front of M. Emery, who was in his place amongst the Councillors of the University, and asked him if he was yet eighty. "Very nearly, Sire," was the answer, "for I am seventy-nine." "Well," said the Emperor, with a gracious smile, "I wish you ten years more." Speaking of this afterwards, M. Emery remarked that he feared such an accumulation of good wishes might work him evil. Since his dismissal from the Seminary he had been allowed to reside at the country house of Issy, and, as his connection with the University gave him frequent business in Paris, he hired a lodging, a single room, in the neighbourhood of the Seminary. When Sœur Rosalie, the famous Sister of Charity, and his great friend, Mademoiselle Jouen, visited him there they found him in good spirits. He reproached them for their want of faith. "We have powerful

enemies," he concluded, "mais ils passeront, et nous resterons après eux." But when others, who perhaps did not so much need encouragement, would ask him how it was with him, he would look at them fixedly and reply: "Mori lucrum." For more than twenty years he had borne a burden of responsibility, unofficial indeed, and hardly recognized, but none the less real, such as perhaps had devolved upon no other Churchman in Christendom, the Pope alone excepted. And yet another struggle was in store for him before he might be suffered to depart in peace. Another Commission was appointed by the Emperor, consisting of Cardinals Fesch, Maury—who had been lately elevated to the Archbishopric of Paris—and Caselli, two archbishops, three bishops, and M. Emery. Their object was pretty nearly identical with that of the previous Commission of 1809—viz, to see how far the Pope might be coerced into submission to the Emperor; and how far, this failing, matters ecclesiastical might be carried on without him. The questions proposed by the *Ministre des Cultes* were all directed to this end. The report of the Commission, which all signed but Emery, was characterized by a slavish acquiescence in the Emperor's policy, without one word on behalf of the prisoner of Savona. They suggested that the Pope's reluctance to institute blindly the Imperial nominees, then the principal matter in dispute, might be met, either by an insertion in the Concordat of a promise on the Pope's part to institute within a fixed period, or by providing that such institution should be supplied by a National Council. The Emperor wishing to give *éclat* to these suggestions, which he was inclined to regard very favourably, determined upon an extraordinary meeting of the Commission, to be held at the Tuileries in his presence on March 17. By special command of the Emperor, M. Emery was required to attend. After keeping the Commission waiting some two hours the Emperor appeared, surrounded by his principal officers of State, Talleyrand amongst the number. He opened the proceedings by a long and bitter harangue against the Pope, full of false charges and baseless pretensions. Not one word in defence or expostulation did either cardinal or bishop venture to utter. Cardinal Maury, M. Emery's fierce Ultramontane critic of other days, was tame enough by this in his gilded jesses. Suddenly the Emperor turned upon M. Emery with a "What do you think of all this?" "Sire," answered the old man, "I cannot be of any other opinion than that contained in the Catechism taught by your order in all the churches of the Empire. We read in several places of this Catechism that the Pope is the visible head of the Church, to whom all the faithful owe obedience as to the successor of St. Peter, according to the institution of Jesus Christ himself. Now a body cannot dispense with its head, with one to whom of

right Divine it owes obedience." Then, seeing that Napoleon was listening attentively, he went on to quote to the same effect from the preamble of the Gallican "Declaration." The Emperor had no answer to make, but was heard to ejaculate in a low voice the word "Catéchisme." He at once passed on to speak of the temporal power, which, as Charlemagne had given, he, the successor of Charlemagne, might resume. M. Emery, who had his Bossuet by heart, quoted a passage from the "Defence," in which the necessity of the Pope's temporal power was enlarged upon in order to secure his independence amongst so many conflicting political interests. The Emperor, after expressing the greatest veneration for Bossuet, insisted that, though this was doubtless true enough at the time he wrote, it did not apply to the present state of affairs: "Maintenant que l'Europe ne connaît d'autre maître que moi." M. Emery's answer must have sounded sufficiently audacious: "Votre Majesté connaît aussi bien que moi l'histoire des révolutions; ce qui existe maintenant peut ne pas toujours exister." On being asked by the Emperor if he thought the Pope would ever make the required concession, he said that he thought the Pope would never do what would be equivalent to renouncing his right of institution. Napoleon turned sharply on the prelates of the Commission with the words: "Vous voulez me faire faire un *pas de clerc*, en m'engageant à demander au Pape une chose qu'il ne doit pas m'accorder," and then, leaving his seat and bowing graciously to M. Emery, but without the least notice of any one else, prepared to leave the apartment. Some of the bishops, who hardly seem to have taken in the situation, began to beg the Emperor, just as he was leaving, to excuse M. Emery on account of his great age. "You are mistaken, gentlemen," was the answer, "I am not at all angry with M. Emery; he has spoken like a man who knows his business; it is thus I like to be spoken to." A few days afterwards he severely snubbed Cardinal Fesh with "Taisez-vous, vous êtes un ignorant. Où avez-vous appris la théologie? C'est avec M. Emery, qui le sait, que je dois m'entretenir."

M. Emery, throughout the vicissitudes of a long life, had hardly known what illness was. He had a rooted objection to doctors, and regarded it as the last calamity to fall into their hands. But now his health failed him. The determination of the Emperor to push his quarrel with the Pope to extremities, and to carry out the idea of a National Council, overwhelmed him with a sadness which no efforts could subdue. Not that he sat down under it, for during the last months of his life he was full of activity. He made arrangements with the seminaries of Montreal and Baltimore for the reception of the French Sulpicians, should their work in France be absolutely precluded; and

at the same time provided for their possible resumption of their old position by repurchasing the property round Issy, which had been alienated during the Revolution. He also brought out additions to his work on Leibnitz, and had nearly passed through the press his "*Esprit de Descartes*," when his summons came.

He had been long making particular preparations for death. In a letter written at this period he says: "*Si je vous revoyais, notre entretien roulerait principalement sur les morts. Je m'en occupe aujourd'hui plus que jamais, parce que je me prépare a les rejoindre. J'ai plus de connaissances et d'amis dans l'autre monde que je n'en laisserai sur la terre. Dans la vue d'être mieux reçu, je m'en souviens sans cesse devant Dieu dans mes prières.*" And Death was the theme of his last retreat during the Passiontide of 1811. Referring to the evils with which the Church was threatened, he would often repeat, "*It is a good time to die.*" He went to the Seminary at Paris for the Easter holidays. On the Monday in Low Week it was noticed that he looked really ill, and he confessed that for three months he had not slept at all, that "*that dreadful council was killing him.*" On the next morning he underwent some kind of seizure, apparently of a paralytic character, and got himself taken back to Issy. On the morrow he insisted upon saying his Mass, although he had to be supported on either side by assistants during the whole of it. He was brought back that day to Paris in obedience to the doctors. The next morning he consented to assist at Mass without trying to say it. But the morning after he rose early and dragged himself into the chapel to celebrate Mass, saying to those who withstood him, "*It is at the altar that a priest should die.*" But it might not be, and he was taken back to his bed. He was often more or less delirious, but in the intervals very much himself. Being asked by one of the doctors how he felt, he answered with a touch of his old spirit, "*Comme un homme qui est malheureusement tombé entre les mains des médecins.*" He received the last rites of the Church, and the seminarists and professors who were kneeling round his bed besought him to give them his last blessing. The old man blessed them with great affection and solemnity, and then fell into a state of unconsciousness, which lasted till his death on the afternoon of the second Sunday after Easter, 1811. Napoleon expressed the greatest concern on hearing of his death. He notified his intention of giving him a public funeral in the Panthéon, and only relinquished the idea in deference to the wishes of the deceased, which were communicated to him. The funeral was at Issy.

M. Emery was a man of antique piety, who loved the Madonna and relics and pilgrimages with the simple fervour of a Breton peasant; but he was also a man of his time, fond of scientific

research, an accomplished conversationalist when conversation was recognized as one of the fine arts, and most large-minded in his appreciation of whatever "made for righteousness:" witness the ability and perseverance with which, up to the last days of his life, he marshalled the testimonies of non-Catholic philosophers on behalf of religion. A most tender-hearted director, he yet knew how to introduce a wholesome vein of irony into his treatment of extravagance, as when he routed a young lady's resolution to drown herself with the suggestion that the season was too cold, and that in her place he should certainly wait till June. Brought up to take more or less for granted the Gallican Articles, and to regard Bossuet and Fleury as the highest models of Churchmanship, he instinctively developed the Catholic side of their teaching, and used it as a powerful weapon in the interests of the Holy See, thus inaugurating that fresh strain of loyalty to Rome which has been the characteristic of the French clergy of our day. He rejoiced to be able to show by the newly discovered "*Opuscules*" of Fleury, which he edited and presented to the Emperor, that the great historian was by no means the strong Gallican he had been reputed. He was a man who shrank from anything of the nature of praise, and often invoked the tradition of St. Sulpice to quash complimentary notices of himself in the writings of his friends.

One great fear he had besides that of offending God, and that was a fear lest dotage should supervene upon the exercise of his responsible office of Superior, and he gave a solemn injunction to one of the ablest and most trusted of his subjects to mark the first symptoms of an old man's folly, and give him timely warning that he might at once withdraw from his office. But perhaps the leading characteristic of his life is best represented in the words he spoke to Sœur Rosalie in the early days of her religious life. "*Mon enfant, il faut qu'un prêtre et une Sœur de la Charité soient comme une borne qui est au coin d'une rue, et sur laquelle tous ceux qui passent puissent se reposer et déposer les fardeaux dont ils sont chargés.*"

H. I. D. RYDER.

ART II.—THE NATIVE PRINCES OF INDIA.

1. *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sunnuds relating to India and Neighbouring Countries.* Compiled by C. U. AITCHISON, B.C.S. Calcutta: Foreign Office Press. 1876.
2. *The Native States of India.* By Col. G. B. MALLESON. London: Longmans. 1875.
3. *India and its Native Princes.* By LOUIS ROUSSELET. London: Chapman & Hall. 1876.
4. *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal.* By Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., M.P. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1886.
5. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India.* W. W. HUNTER. Second Edition. London: Trübner & Co. 1886.

THE splendid fabric of English dominion in the East is reared on the wreck of three empires. The Rajput, the Mogul, and the Mahratta have each contributed an integral portion of its structure, and these historic fragments, like sculptured stones built into later masonry, still tell the tale of their past, even while firmly consolidated in their new position. It is the triumph of the British Raj to have thus assimilated, without destroying, the heterogeneous elements it found, and to have reconciled to its rule all the warring forces of the chaos that preceded it. Names written in blood in the history of India are now borne by the most loyal vassals of the Crown, and the Sikh lion and the Mahratta tiger lie down, in the amity of a common allegiance, with the Bengali lamb and the Pathan wolf. For twenty years the peace of the Empire, unbroken by a single shot fired in anger, has rested like a spell on the length and breadth of its great dominion, and tribal and dynastic jealousies that formerly carried fire and sword from the Indus to the Nerbudda, and from the Eastern to the Western Ghats, now find a harmless outlet in ceremonial rivalries—in disputes as to the number of guns in a salute or the place of honour in a procession.

Few sovereigns have been attended on a State occasion by so brilliant a train of vassals as that formed by the Indian princes and deputations who accompanied the royal cortège to Westminster Abbey on the 21st of June. The six native rulers present in person were imposing specimens of their race, all in the prime of manhood, and with the princely bearing and sombre stateliness of Eastern beauty, set off to the utmost by the radiant

glitter of their jewelled panoplies. Thus to the eye alone their aspect was sufficiently impressive as they flashed by like a stream of daylight meteors,

Crowned with the rainbow, clothed with rays
Shot from the prism into the loom,

shedding a halo of Oriental glory on the dazzled English sunshine.

But even more striking than any mere display of personal splendour were the associations suggested by their presence on such an occasion, in the contrast between the historic memories evoked by their names and the act of homage thus publicly rendered to their present liege. For while led hither by loyalty to their distant suzerain from the uttermost bounds of a vast empire, they represent an order of ideas in which the West has no part, and phases of society as remote from our experience as their dwelling-place from ours. That they should come here, not as aliens but as fellow-subjects, regarding England as in some sense a second home, is a singular and striking illustration of the œcumenical character of the British Empire.

The dominions of the Crown in the East, acquired by different titles and under varying conditions, are in part ruled by its direct authority, and in part governed by native sovereigns in virtue of subsisting treaties and engagements. The former portion occupies the larger area of 902,500 square miles, with a population of 191,411,434; the latter the lesser extent of 575,263 square miles, with 49,096,627 of inhabitants. These native territories are very unequally divided between 601 native princes, whose states are on every scale of magnitude, from one rivalling the size of Great Britain to others consisting of the microscopic domain of a village chief. Fenced off by custom and tradition from the equalizing tendencies of Western civilization, they form a region full of local colour and abounding in anomalies and anachronisms. In one quarter a turbulent feudal aristocracy represents a phase of society passed through centuries ago by mediæval Europe; in another the usurpations of foreign mercenaries show an approximation to the condition of Mameluke Egypt. We find a Mohammedan state ruled by three generations of women, and Hindu states, where widows, proscribed by Brahminical lore, have nevertheless borne sovereign sway. Thrones subsisting for decades of centuries are overshadowed by mushroom thrones of yesterday, and dynasties tracing their origin to the fabled heroes of Aryan mythology have to yield precedence to dynasties called after their herdsmen-founders in the last century. The lights of heaven and elements of nature are claimed as ancestors by some tribes, and progenitors among the lower animals boasted of with equal pride by

others. With the name of Rajput are associated all the traditions of Asiatic chivalry on the one hand, and the barbarous customs of female infanticide and widow suttī on the other. Courts rarely visited by Europeans outdo fable in their fantastic splendours, and the microcosm of each feudatory state is an epitome of all the pomp and luxury of the East.

The native princes of the first rank enjoy full sovereign rights within their own dominions. They maintain armies, coin money, and administer justice with power of life and death over their subjects, but are precluded, on the other hand, from levying war or holding diplomatic intercourse with each other, or with foreign Powers. There is no Customs union, and they generally levy heavy transit dues on all goods at their frontiers, but are prohibited from exporting salt and opium, which are Government monopolies. The tribute paid by them varies from a trifling yearly present to a heavy money payment, while many are altogether exempt. Most of the larger states pay a subsidy for a native contingent, assigned to their defence, but disciplined and officered by Englishmen. Military tribute and contributions amounted in 1880-81 to £742,209.

The relations of the feudatory states with the paramount power are conducted under the forms of diplomacy, through residents or political agents in their capitals, corresponding with the Foreign Office in Calcutta. Considerable moral pressure is brought to bear by this machinery, but the resident's position is one requiring great judgment and discrimination in determining the amount of interference advisable in each conjuncture. In cases of flagrant misgovernment or oppression, the Central Government exercises the right of deposing the offending prince in the interests of his own subjects, but such a proceeding is viewed with extreme jealousy, not only by the independent states, but by the native population of British India as well. The rank and file of minor rajas and chieftains, to whom no special agents are accredited, come under the supervision of the English Commissioners of their several districts, whose relations with them are generally those of authoritative friendship.

In cases of long minority, very frequent in India, the paramount power assumes the guardianship of the infant ruler, with most beneficial results to himself and his people. Brought up by English tutors under the immediate supervision of the Resident, the little raja or rana is rescued from the pernicious pampering of the Zenana, and encouraged to take an interest in all healthy pastimes. Mr. Prinsep* thus describes the boy Rana of Dholpar as spending all his time with the children of the Resident,

* "Imperial India." Val C. Prinsep. London: Chapman & Hall. 1879.

returning to the palace only for food and sleep, and then with difficulty induced to leave his young companions. The rising generation of rajas are consequently adepts in lawn-tennis, cricket, and all English games, as well as good shots and keen sportsmen. Meantime, the finances of the state, often overburdened by the personal expenses of the sovereign, are allowed a breathing space in which to recover, and the Durbar or Council of Regency is gently guided into sound administrative courses. Prince and people alike get a fair start, and the new reign begins under happier auspices than generally attend the assumption of power in the East.

The question of succession in the native states is the one which has most profoundly agitated Indian opinion during the present generation. Lord Dalhousie, in his memorable administration from 1848 to 1856, proclaimed the principle that, in the frequent case of failure of direct heirs to a reigning house, the sovereignty escheated to the Indian Government, by what he termed the "Right of Lapse." This policy, which, it was obvious, rendered the absorption of all native territory but a question of time, was actually carried out in reference to the three Mahratta States of Sattara, Nagpur, and Jhansi, and in the case of the latter was destined to lead to memorable consequences.

Not only were the rights of the subject populations thus disregarded and ignored, but a blow was struck at the root of Hindu religious feeling, which regards the practice of adoption, failing natural heirs, as the only security for the due performance of funeral rites. So urgently is such a substitution required, that the act of a widow, who in her husband's name adopts a son after his death, is as valid as his own, and the artificial tie thus created has all the force of the real one. The violation of a principle fenced round by the immemorial sanctities of Hindu tradition undoubtedly set in motion some of those mysterious undercurrents of disaffection, which, unregarded at the time, were recognized after the event as the predisposing causes of the Indian Mutiny.*

Among the measures of reorganization subsequent to that great catastrophe, none was more happily conceived for the restoration of confidence between the races, than the decree of Lord Canning, published on March 11, 1862, conferring the right of adoption, according to Hindu and Mohammedan usage, on all the greater chiefs, and thus securing the perpetuity

* The result of the Mutiny was a curious instance of the fulfilment of popular prophecy in a different sense to the expected one. The current prediction that the "Company's Raj" was only to last a hundred years after the battle of Plassey (1757) was fulfilled, not by restoration of native rule, but by the substitution of that of the Queen in 1858.

of their dynasties. A special patent, termed a Sunnud, is bestowed on those so privileged, and these nobles of the Sunnud, numbering about 150, and ruling an area as large as France and Belgium, form the true patriciate of India.

Their relative status is determined by the number of guns in their respective salutes. Eight—namely, the Nizám; the rulers of Kashmir, Udaipur, Jaipur, and Mysore; Sindia, Holkar, and the Gaekwar, are entitled to a salute of twenty-one guns on British territory; while the Imperial salute consists of one hundred and one, and the Viceroy's of thirty-one guns. Ninety-three princes in all can lay claim to the honours of artillery, nine guns being the lowest in the scale. Rewards and punishments are meted out in guns, and while the salute of the Maharao of Kota was reduced from seventeen to thirteen for disloyalty in the Mutiny, that of the Maharaja of Jaipur was raised from seventeen to nineteen for his liberality during the famine in Rajputana in 1868.

The classification of the native territories into Rajput, Mohammedan, and Mahratta States, though not exhaustive, is representative of the triple historical traditions of the country. All the venerable sacred lore of India is bound up with the Rajput immigration, the first great Aryan wave, which, at a conjectural date of 1400 B.C., swept upon the plains of Hindustan from the breeding-ground of nations in the north. The progress of the intruders may be traced in the Vedic hymns, of which the earliest were composed while they were still north of the Khyber Pass, in the neighbourhood of Kabul, the later when the banks of the Ganges had been reached.

Everywhere organized in aristocratic clans or families, the northern invaders retained their exclusive pride of birth and race; and, while gradually penetrating to all parts of India, continued to look down on the aboriginal inhabitants from the lofty pedestal of their Aryan descent. Thus was evolved the system of caste, with its inflexible fourfold division of society. The three first of these classes—the Brahmins or priests; Kshatriyas or warriors, represented by the modern Rajputs, the "sons of kings;" and the Vaisyas, or cultivators—were all designated Dwajji, or "twice-born," as belonging to the ruling race; while the inferior "once-born" natives formed the servile caste of Sudras. Religious prejudice fenced round these social orders with an insurmountable barrier, by the prohibition of their partaking of food in common, regarding it as a solemn act of sacrifice which could only be shared in by those ceremonially equal. Hence the cook is, or should be, a priest, while so great is the punctilio as to the preparation of food, that the shadow of a European, or low-caste native, thrown on the hearth during the process, carries

pollution with it, and necessitates the rejection of the half-cooked meal.

North-western Hindustan, with Delhi as its capital, was the principal seat of Rajput power. The last Aryan sovereign who reigned there was the hero of one of the romantic legends of his chivalrous race. His assumption of the title of Prithwi Raja, or suzerain, gave umbrage to the neighbouring chieftain, the King of Kanouj; and the latter proclaimed his overlordship by celebrating a great feast and sacrifice, where all his vassals were appointed to fill menial offices. The Delhi Raja was designated to the lowest—that of doorkeeper—and on his refusal, a misshapen image was set up in his place. But the Princess of Kanouj, when called in, according to Rajput custom, to make her “*swayamvara*,” or “own choice,” of a husband in the assembly, passed by all the chiefs, and flung the garland which indicated her selection, over the neck of the statue. The lover, expectant of the signal, was in waiting to ride off with his bride to his northern capital, but his bold wooing had a disastrous ending. The King of Kanouj summoned the Afghans to avenge the wrong, Shahab-ud-Din of Ghor obeyed the call, and in 1193 Prithwi Raja was overthrown and slain, leaving his heroic princess to burn herself on his funeral pile.

The centre of Rajput power was thenceforward shifted to the country between the Ganges and Indus. Here it is still found, in the modern Rajputana, a compact area of 130,989 square miles, measuring 530 miles in one direction by 460 in the other, with a population of ten and a quarter millions, and armies 70,000 strong. It is divided into twenty principalities, but three of these—Tonk, founded by an Afghan adventurer in the last century, and the Jat States of Bhurtpur and Dholpur, are in the hands of non-Rajput rulers. Of the Rajput States proper the largest is Marwar, generally called from its capital Jodhpur, with a population of 2,850,000, and an area of 37,000 square miles, larger than that of Portugal. The second, Jaipur, with one and three-quarter millions of inhabitants, has a territory of 14,465 square miles, approximating to the size of Switzerland. But Mewar, or Udaipur, though less than either of these, with a territory of only 12,670 square miles, a little exceeding that of Belgium, and 1,134,700 subjects, takes the first place in Hindu eyes from the unsullied purity of lineage boasted by a dynasty of fifteen centuries of antiquity. Indeed, even setting aside the boasted descent from the Sun, claimed by the Maharana of Udaipur, as head of the Suryavansa or Solar race, it would be hard to find a longer or more illustrious lineage. His family, whose existence has been attested since the second century, has ruled the same territory since 728 A.D., and he represents, in the female line, both

the Persian Chosroes and the Byzantine Cæsars. However closely pressed by the soldiers of the Great Mogul, the House of Udaipur has always scorned to purchase peace by the sacrifice of a daughter to Delhi, and "the Toorkh," as they contemptuously term the Mussulman conqueror, has never been able to boast that the blood of the Sun-descended ruler of Mewar runs in the veins of his descendants. Nor was it till after the Delhi Durbar of 1877 that he would consent to partake of food with his kinsmen of Jaipur and Jodhpur, their houses having till then lain under a ban, in consequence of having bestowed their daughters on the great Akbar.

So prized was the right of intermarriage with the elder dynasty, that a sanguinary war, which desolated Rajputana from 1806 to 1810, was due to the rivalry of the two last-named houses for the hand of a princess of Udaipur. The gilded cocoa-nut conveying the offer of marriage had been sent in the first instance to Jodhpur, and on his death transferred to his neighbour, but his successor claimed the fulfilment of the promise, which he contended had been made, not to the individual, but to the dynasty. All the Rajput princes took part in the ensuing struggle, while Udaipur, remaining neutral, was left a prey to the ravages of Afghan and Mahratta marauders. Its sovereign, having vainly invoked British intervention, even at the price of half his dominions, had recourse to the desperate expedient of poisoning his daughter in order to reconcile her lovers. The Rajput Iphigeneia is said to have died a willing victim for her country and her race, but her unhappy mother, less resigned, expired of a broken heart.

With such a record of ancestral memories, it is easy to imagine the indignation with which the eldest of the Solar race found himself, on the visit of the Prince of Wales to Bombay in 1875, expected to walk in procession behind the Gaekwar, the descendant, within a few generations, of a cowherd. His views on precedence were expounded in a conversation while sitting for his portrait to Mr. Prinsep, when he remarked that there were "few dynasties of good caste now left in India," and on the mention of Kolhapur, with Nepal and others, among the exceptions, replied, "Kolhapur was good caste, but they are nothing now since they have given a daughter to the Gaekwar, a mere herdsman."

These internecine rivalries were illustrated at Lord Mayo's Durbar at Ajmir in 1871, when the Jodhpur ruler refused to take the place assigned him below that of the senior Sun Prince. "Udaipur may sit where he likes," he is reported to have said, "but I will have my chair above him." This, however, proving impracticable, he absented himself altogether, and the Durbar was

held with his seat vacant. Such an insult to her Majesty's representative could not be passed over, and the recalcitrant prince was not only ordered out of camp next morning, but had his regulation salute curtailed by two guns, as a penalty for his insubordination.

The Rajput States furnish the most perfect modern examples of feudalism. Each Thákur, or independent noble, enjoys plenary jurisdiction and authority on his own lands, which are held on condition of homage and military service, and his castle, perched like those of mediæval Europe on some isolated crag commanding a ford or pass, was, down to a comparatively recent date, a point of vantage, from which he swooped on caravans for plunder or ransom. Nor are these Rajput barons a whit behind their Western prototypes in civil turbulence, frequently rebelling against their liege, and requiring to be reduced by military expeditions.

The Court of Mewar is constantly attended by sixteen of the greater Thákurs, who form a State Council, and hold offices of historical or traditional origin. They sit above the heir to the throne, whose inferiority is a reminder of the degradation of one of his predecessors, compelled to serve at the Court of Delhi as a condition of peace with Jehangir. One of these paladins of Udaipur represents an elder branch of the reigning house, and has the privilege, dating from 1389 A.D., of placing his sign-manual, a lance, before the open hand, denoting the Maharana's signature. Thus is commemorated the generosity of his ancestor, Chonda, in surrendering the throne to his younger brother, ancestor of the present ruler. Another Thákur is entitled to carry the royal insignia on certain occasions, because one of his predecessors saved his sovereign's life by stripping them from his person, thus concealing his identity, when flying from a disastrous field. But none of these hereditary honours are more prized than the jewelled sword presented to the principal Thákur by Her Majesty the Queen, in gratitude for his services during the Mutiny, when his influence neutralized the disloyal elements in the State, and made it a refuge for fugitives from Indore and other disaffected localities. Some of these nobles have rent-rolls of £20,000 a year, and bear the kingly titles of Rao and Raja, being in fact the heads of royal clans.

Sujjun Singh, the present Maharana of Mewar, sometimes styled King of the Hindus, was born June 9, 1858. His capital, Udaipur, "the City of the Sunrise," with its mountain background and gleaming lake-mirrored palaces, is one of the most picturesque in India, though of comparatively modern date. All the older associations of the dynasty are with Chitore, whose ruins are consecrated by heroic memories. The most solemn oath

a Rajput can take is one by the sacking of Chitore, for here was consummated, when it fell into the hands of Ala-ud-Din, ruler of Delhi in 1303, that terrible sacrifice of honour, the *johar*. In such cases, when further resistance is hopeless, the women are all slaughtered, or commit wholesale suicide, to escape the ignominy of captivity; while the men, putting on saffron garments, and staining their faces with the same hue, rush on the enemy to die sword in hand. On this occasion 15,000 women are said to have perished, and whole tribes have sometimes been exterminated in similar fashion. Since the last capture of Chitore by Akbar it has been abandoned, and no Rana has since visited it, the popular belief being that an invisible arm would bar the way should he attempt to enter.

The prevalence of female infanticide among the Rajputs, springs from the same rigid punctilio as to the honour of their women that instigated the *johar*, daughters being destroyed to obviate the disgrace of having to accept inferior alliances for them. Many of their traditional usages point to a community of ideas between European and Asiatic chivalry. Thus the hand of a princess was often the prize of a competition in arms, and a lady was privileged to select a champion by sending him her bracelet, when he, though a stranger, was bound to defend her as his own sister. The Rajputs are monogamists, but a plurality of wives is permitted to their princes. Their loyalty, a well-known trait in their character, is exemplified in the story, set to stirring verse by Mr. Edwin Arnold, of the Rajput nurse, who saved the royal babe, her foster-child, at the expense of her own, substituting the latter for him in the cradle when assassins were coming to take his life.

Rajput supremacy received a final blow in 1527, in the decisive victory of Baber, at Futtehpur Sikri. The subsequent history of the Hindu princes is a record of hopeless struggles against encroaching neighbours. Ground between the upper and nether millstones of the Mogul and the Mahratta, they owed their escape from annihilation to the establishment of British supremacy over both enemies. Hence, on grounds of self-interest alone, their loyalty to the Crown is likely to be permanent and sincere.

Their principal representative in England during the Jubilee festivities was his Highness the Rao of Cutch, a Jarigi Rajput, and head of the Chandravansa or Lunar race. Born in 1866, he has been since ten years of age the ruler of a principality nearly as large as Wales, with an area of 6,500 square miles, and a population of one and a half millions. He was accompanied by his brother, and the two young princes were among the most conspicuous of the Indian visitors.

Among Rajput States, though remote from Rajputana, must be classed Kashmir, in right of its ruler Pertab Singh, a Doghra Rajput. His grandfather, Ghulab Singh, originally a trooper of Runjit Singh's, gradually rose to independent command, and the principality won by the sword was extended and confirmed by the treaty of Amritsar, in March 1846, under which the successful adventurer undertook to pay the Indian Government seventy-five lakhs (£750,000), in return for the recognition of his title. The present ruler, Pertab Singh, who succeeded in September 1885, ranks as one of the greatest princes of India, and in extent of territory, 79,784 square miles, comes next to the Nizam, though his subjects are estimated at the comparatively low figure of 1,534,972. Out of this population an army of about 30,000 is kept on foot, a contingent of which co-operated in the siege of Delhi in 1857. The annual tribute of Kashmir consists of 1 horse, 3 pair of shawls, and 25 lb. of *peshm*, the soft wool lying next the skin of the Tibetan goat, from which the finest shawls are made.

Next in order of antiquity to the Rajput dynasties, come those ruling the group of Mohammedan States, sprung from the ruins of the Mogul Empire during the period of decay that followed on the death of Aurungzeb. Under the great grandson of the latter prince, the sceptre of the south virtually passed from his house, by the appointment, in 1712, of Mir-Kamr-ud-Din, afterwards styled the Asaf Jah, as Subadar or Lieutenant of the Deccan, with the title of Nizam ul Mulk, Regulator of the State. His family, originally from Bokhara, and boasting the title of Sayyid, signifying descent from the Prophet, had held high office in Delhi for two generations before they rose to princely rank in the person of the powerful satrap, whose transformation into a practically independent potentate was effected before his death in 1748. Hyderabad, under his descendants, became the successor of Delhi, as the focus of militant Mohammedanism in India, and the rallying point of the Rohilla and Afghan adventurers set adrift by the decline of the Mogul Empire, as well as of the fierce Arabs of the Deccan. Recruited from such sources, the forces of the Nizam, according to Sir Richard Temple, formed a body containing in itself "all the vices which have ever been attributed to foreign mercenaries," imitating the Janissaries of Constantinople in their civic turbulence, and the Mamelukes of Egypt in their territorial pretensions. The military leaders, contracting with the State for the services of their troops, on the system of the Italian condottieri, set all civil control at defiance, and ruled with feudal authority over the lands assigned them in lieu of money, under the name of *tankwah*, or pay, *talukas*. The Arabs, thus become a power in the State,

exercised independent jurisdiction over their followers, and enforced it over others, surrounding with their troops the houses of those against whom they had pecuniary or other claims, while they themselves refused to be made amenable to any tribunal.

To these evils were added those of financial anarchy, which reached its culminating point early in the present century. Revenue-jobbers preyed on the people, and official book-keepers, termed "defterdars," acquired the hereditary right of pillaging the treasury; political powers and privileges were bartered for loans from its own subjects by the needy State, and foreign bankers flocked in to share in what Sir Charles Metcalfe boldly termed "the plunder of the Nizam." Street riots, termed "city dangas," organized by the military leaders when pay ran short, became a chronic feature of the capital; and while the Crown jewels were permanently pawned to domestic creditors, the great province of Berar, an area larger than that of Switzerland, was assigned to the Indian Government in satisfaction of the accumulated arrears due for the payment of the Hyderabad contingent.

The reform of these crying abuses was the task of the great Minister familiarly but incorrectly known in England as Sir Salar Jung.* Summoned at the age of twenty-five to the office of Dewan, hereditary in his family, he assumed power in 1853 with the firm determination of remedying the disorders to which his country was a prey. The difficulty of his position was increased, during the first fourteen years of his administration, by the dislike of a jealous and suspicious master, whose smiles were rarely vouchsafed to him, and whose frown he never could learn to bear with equanimity. Seldom admitted to the Nizam's august presence, he generally left it, Sir Richard Temple tells us, "pale from agitation," and was practically a State prisoner in the capital, only allowed to visit the British Resident, or even receive guests in his own palace, by special permission from his surly lord.

It was while thus hampered at every step that he effected the fiscal reform which came first among his remedial measures, the thorough reorganization and reassessment of the land revenue ordered by him resulting in an increase of twenty per cent. in the treasury receipts during the five years previous to 1867. Meantime the resumption of the tankwah talukas, hypothecated to the military chiefs for pay, as well as of other assigned lands, or *jaghirs*, was steadily proceeded with, the claims of the mortgagees being gradually settled. Other reforms went hand in hand with

* His personal name was Turab Ali, while Salar Jung, meaning Leader in War, is an hereditary title of honour. Hence Sir Richard Temple always styles him *the* Salar Jung.

financial reorganization ; public works and irrigation were forwarded, and the administration of justice improved ; while the rampant militarism of the capital was to some extent brought under control. Taxation was at the same time maintained at the same low level as before the general rise in the prices of produce throughout India ; and the present Sir Salar Jung has pointed out in a recent article that it compares favourably with that of some European States, the same revenue, £4,000,000, being raised in Greece from two million, as in Hyderabad from nine million people.*

The reforming Minister was left a free hand by the death of his ungracious master in 1869, and the long minority of his son, who succeeded as an infant of three years old, [was a period of prosperity for Hyderabad. Advantage was taken of this change of rulers by Mr. Sanders, then British Resident, to break down for the first time the humiliating etiquette which required the representative of England to remove his shoes when approaching the Nizam, and to sit on the floor when in his august presence. The abandonment of this ceremonial was strenuously opposed by Sir Salar Jung, who declared himself unable to guarantee the Resident from the violence of the wild Afghan and Pathan nobles of the Court should he enter the Durbar otherwise than in the prescribed fashion. This announcement was met by the establishment of a telegraphic wire between the Residency and the camp at Secunderabad, with orders to the British officers there that the firing of a certain gun should be the signal for the sack of Hyderabad.

The Resident accordingly had his way, the streets being lined with troops, by Salar Jung's orders, for his protection ; but it is said that the faithful Minister much resented the slight thus offered to the dignity of his baby liege.† The retention by the Indian Government of the assigned province of Berar is also a standing grievance with the Court of Hyderabad, though the treasury gains a considerable surplus revenue, annually paid over according to agreement, after all the expenses of the contingent have been defrayed. Sir Salar Jung's principal motive in visiting England was to procure the restoration of the territory, but all his efforts in this direction proved abortive. His sudden death by cholera or poison, in 1883, at the age of fifty-five, closed a thirty years' administrative career whose brilliancy it would be difficult to match in the annals of any country.

This event preceded but by a few months the attainment of his majority by the present Nizam, Mir Mahbub Ali, who, born in

* "Europe Revisited." *Nineteenth Century*, August 1887.

† "Imperial India," Val Prinsep.

1866, was formerly installed as ruler in February 1884. In accordance with his wishes, and with traditional usage, the son of Salar Jung was appointed in his father's place, but the young Minister proved unequal to the charge, and, in April 1887, the Viceroy, after some months' deliberation, acceded to the representations of the Nizam and sanctioned his dismissal. It must be added that he acknowledges having been treated with the greatest personal consideration by his young master, who, in addition to paying the heavy debts left by his father, allows him a pension of 7,000 rupees a month.

Asman Jah, the chief representative of Hyderabad at the Jubilee festivities, has been appointed his successor, while an innovation has been introduced into the government of the State, by the selection of an Englishman, Colonel Marshall, as private secretary to his Highness. The latter shows considerable aptitude for business, and promises to be a capable and intelligent ruler. He has recently, in July 1887, lost his eldest son, aged three, but a baby heir still survives to carry on the succession.

The Nizam of Hyderabad ranks as the premier Prince of India, not only in regard to the extent of his territory, with a population of ten millions, and an area of 78,003 square miles, not far inferior to that of Great Britain, but also from his acknowledged position as the political head of the Mohammedan population of India. The loyal attitude of the State, under the guidance of Sir Salar Jung, during the Mutiny, was thus a main factor in determining that of its co-religionists, and the disposition of its ruler must always be, on this ground, a matter of supreme importance to England.

Its military forces, though of somewhat motley composition, are by no means despicable, comprising some 40,000 men of all arms, with 725 guns. These numbers are exclusive of the contingent, disciplined and officered by England at his Highness's expense, and maintained for the defence of his territory. The Indian Government tries to discourage as much as possible the recruitment of foreign-born Arabs for the Nizam's service, and the reception of this turbulent class of immigrants in his dominions. Hyderabad, "the City of the Lion," is consequently somewhat tamer in aspect than when Sir Richard Temple described its mob as "a seething and surging mass of devilry," though enough of its picturesque ferocity remains to recall the description by mediæval writers of the old garrison towns of Islam. Every man still carries at his belt a strangely assorted arsenal of weapons, never parting with matchlock or carbine even to eat or sleep, and Mr. Edwin Arnold, who visited the Nizam's capital in 1884, humorously describes it as "a city at half-cock, ready to go off at a touch into turmoil and revolution." In addition to the State

troops, the chiefs and nobles are believed to have about 10,000 men-at-arms in their service, so that there are still formidable elements of disturbance in the country.

The principality of Bahawalpur in North-Western India, with its territory of 15,000 square miles, is in point of size the second Mohammedan State in the Empire, but it is far surpassed in interest and influence by Bhopal, one of the Central Indian group, with an area of 8,200 square miles and a population of 300,000. Ruled for three generations by a race of princesses, among whom administrative ability seems entailed in the female line, it might furnish a legitimate argument for the champions of the rights of women, since its prosperity and good government have earned it the title of the model Native State of India. For, while its resources are developed by the construction of roads and irrigation works, the public expenditure is so wisely regulated that taxation is lower than in British India.

The dynasty is of Afghan origin, and its founder, Dost Mahomed, was a fellow-soldier of the first Nizam in the service of Aurungzeb. His descendants have been for generations steadily loyal to British rule, and the late ruler, Secunder Begum, who died in 1868, was always foremost in placing her state troops at the disposal of the Government in every emergency. Both she and her daughter, Shah Jehan, the reigning Begum, received the rank of Knights Grand Commanders of the Star of India, and the right to a salute of the second class, or nineteen guns.

It was through a curious and romantic chain of circumstances that the State was early brought under European influence. A fugitive Frenchman, calling himself Jean de Bourbon, reaching the Court of the great Akbar about the middle of the sixteenth century, told a strange tale of adventure and misfortune. Captured by pirates in the Mediterranean in 1541, when only fifteen years old, and sold into slavery successively in Egypt and Abyssinia, he had, he said, escaped thence by sea to India, and so made his way to Delhi. Here he rapidly rose to eminence as master of the artillery, and his descendants having subsequently migrated to Bhopal, and received fiefs there, increased and multiplied until they became a powerful clan of no less than 300 families, known as the Frantzis. One of their number, Balthazar de Bourbon, surnamed the Shahzad Massiya, or Christian Prince, having become Vizier in 1816, counselled that prudent policy of fidelity to the British alliance which has since been constantly adhered to by the State. This nobleman, dying in 1830, left a widow, Elisabeth de Bourbon, who, recognized as the head of the clan, and bearing the title of the Doulan Sircar, was a prominent and stately figure at the Begum's Court, when it was

visited by the French traveller, M. Rousselet, in 1864. The latter was much surprised by a visit from a French priest, and still more at his description of himself as chaplain to the Bourbon Princess, for the Frantzis, despite the high favour in which they have always been held at Mussulman Courts, have remained faithful to their hereditary religion. A rude painting of a fleur-de-lis executed by one of their ancestors is still preserved amongst them, but their genealogy seems never to have been investigated.

During the visit of the same traveller to Bhopal occurred the sudden death of the husband of the young princess, Shah Jehan, who had been strictly secluded during his lifetime, according to Mohammedan usage. No sooner was she released by his demise, however, than she received the European visitors unveiled and richly dressed, making so little pretence of grief that they could not forbear remarking on her demeanour to her mother. The Begum's answer was a striking commentary on the domestic manners of her country. "I mourn," she said, "for Oumra Doula, because I lose in him a faithful friend and counsellor, but why should my daughter mourn? Does the prisoner regret his gaoler?"

Shah Jehan, who was then only seventeen, and very handsome, was not deterred from a second matrimonial venture, and has had to retire again behind the *purdah* or screen which secludes Indian ladies from the vulgar gaze. Her present husband, styled the Nawab, is a man of inferior rank, and Anglo-Indian scandal whispers that he beats her.

While Rajputana enshrines all the memories of India's heroic age, and Hyderabad inherits the traditions of Delhi, a third group of principalities represents the power which most recently threatened British dominion. The Mahratta States had all a common origin, having been carved by the sword out of the wreck of the Mogul Empire. A wild and warlike race, inhabiting the ancient kingdom of Maharashtra, enthroned on the Western Ghats, gave birth in the last century to a series of military adventurers, whose genius and daring first gave their hardy clansmen national coherence and vitality.

The first of these, Shahji Bhonsla, a Rajput, claiming descent from the House of Udaipur, after fighting in the service of the Mohammedan States of Southern India, then at war with Delhi, left a fief and military retainers to his son Sivaji, born in 1627. Sivaji Bhonsla was something more than the founder of a State, since he was also the creator of a system. He it was who, calling his Hindu village spearmen at convenient seasons from the tillage of their fields, to form a sort of predatory militia, first led them on those dread raids which subsequently became the most characteristic feature of Mahratta warfare.

But the pre-eminence of the House of Bhonsla was of brief duration. Delhi, whose power Sivaji had defied, triumphed over his descendants, and the grandson of the "mountain rat," as Aurungzeb termed his adversary, on his restoration as the vassal of the Mogul in 1707, became a puppet in the hands of Balaji Vishwanath, his Brahmin vizier. This Minister's office, with the title of Peshwa, from the Persian word *pesh*, illustrious, became from 1740 a virtual hereditary sovereignty; and the descendants of Sivaji, relegated thenceforward to the petty principalities of Sattara and Kolhapur, survive at the present day only in the latter dynasty, the former having lapsed in 1849.

Meanwhile the parasitical power of the upstart waxed apace, and Baji Rao, the second Peshwa, having extorted from Delhi the grant, under the name of *chout*, of a fourth of the revenue of the Deccan, soon converted this right of tribute into one of sovereignty. Simultaneously with the rise of the Peshwa, other similarly constituted states were rapidly growing into independent existence. Another Bhonsla, Parsaji, a private horseman from near Sattara, was invested with authority in Berar, and founded the Nagpur dynasty, whose extinction in 1853 was, with that of Sattara, the immediate occasion of Lord Dalhousie's assertion of the Right of Lapse.

The foundations of a more enduring sovereignty were laid in 1720 by Damaji Gaekwar Shemser Bahadur, who, having exchanged his hereditary avocation of a cowherd for that of a soldier, was rewarded with the principality of Baroda, now ruled by his descendants.

Still more brilliant fortune awaited Mulhar Rao, a member of the Dhangar, or shepherd caste, the name of whose native village, Hol, with the affix *Kar*, inhabitant, was destined to be that of a dynasty. This "dweller in Hol," having early joined a body of cavalry equipped by a Mahratta noble, passed, in 1724, from his service into that of the Peshwa, and rapidly rose to high command. The territory of Malwa, wrested by him from the Mogul Viceroy, and assigned for the support of his troops, formed the nucleus of the principality of Indore, still the patrimony of his house.

The twin chieftain, Sindia, sprang from a family occupying a somewhat higher position in the social scale. As silladars, or cavalry leaders, supplying the horses of their troop, they held a rank which may be described as knightly; and were also Patels, or hereditary headmen, of their native village of Kumerkheir, near Sattara. It was amongst them too that Aurungzeb sought a wife for the grandson of Sivaji, when restoring him to his sovereignty: a sufficient testimony to the purity of their lineage. Yet it was in the seemingly menial capacity of slipper-bearer to

the Peshwa, that Ranoji Sindia, if we may believe legend, first distinguished himself, extorting his master's admiration by the fidelity with which, when surprised asleep, he was found to have his charge clasped to his bosom. Nor did he, even when promoted to higher duties, ever forget his zeal for his earlier office, for once in his subsequent career he produced from under his robe a new pair of slippers, and, kneeling at the Peshwa's feet, substituted them for those he had in use; still preserved, it is said, in the treasury at Gwalior.

Such judicious humility was not without its reward; but though Ranoji's rise was rapid, it was his son Madahji who made his name the most illustrious in India. Henceforward the names of Holkar and Sindia are perpetually recurring in the records of English battle in the East, and the figures of the two great Mahratta chieftains loom large as those of warring Titans on the red pages of Indian history. They shared the command of the Mahratta army on the fatal 6th of January 1761, when it was swept from the field of Paniput by the Afghan soldiery of Ahmed Shah. Holkar, indeed, first of the name, now grown old and wary, saved himself by an early and inglorious retreat, while the second Sindia, lamed for life, barely escaped from the slaughter of his kinsfolk to retrieve the shattered fortunes of his house.

He it was too who principally helped to restore the strength of the Mahratta confederacy, weakened by this great blow, and enabled it to bid defiance to every native power in India. The five warlike states which composed it, under the nominal suzerainty of the Peshwa, were able to bring into the field an army of 100,000 men, while the extent of their forays for plunder or chout was only limited by the endurance of their steeds. Rajputana was wasted at their will, Delhi itself made tributary, and the rich plains of the Ganges swept of hoards and harvests by the ubiquitous horsemen of the south.

Meantime the fortunes of the fighting House of Holkar were guided for thirty years by a woman with singular ability and discretion. Ahalya Bai, the young widow of the son of the first Holkar, assumed the government on the death of her son, who, having succeeded his grandfather, survived him but nine months. She named as her general Tukaji Rao, who, though older, addressed her as his mother, assuming the style of "Son of Mulhar Rao Holkar." The private life of the Mahratta Princess was a series of tragedies. Widowed at twenty by her husband's death in battle, bereaved of her only son, who died mad, and still more terribly of her only daughter, who committed *sutti* with her husband's remains, she was sustained in her public duties by a strong sense of religious responsibility, holding herself, as she

said, "answerable to God for every exercise of power." Her name is still revered as that of a saint by her people, and the city of Indore, founded by her, is a lasting monument to her memory.

Jeswunt Rao, hapless but heroic, the most dashing soldier of his house, succeeded his father Tukaji. Although he took no part in the Mahratta war of 1802, he attacked the British single-handed after the conclusion of the treaty of Bassein. The humiliation he inflicted on their arms in the destruction of Colonel Monson's unfortunate column was quickly avenged by Lord Lake, who after driving him from point to point, at last compelled him to surrender, declaring that "his whole kingdom lay on his saddle-bow." Reinstated in his dominions by the unexpected leniency of his foe, he devoted himself to the manufacture of artillery, working at the forges with his own hands, but died mad in 1811, from the effects of excessive drinking. Tulsa Bai, a very beautiful and unscrupulous woman, claimed to succeed as his widow, but failed to maintain herself in power, and after a term of anarchy was beheaded by her own troops in 1817.

The history of the House of Sindia had been less chequered, as Madanji, second of the name, dying in 1794, transmitted his sovereignty to his grand nephew Daulat Rao, the Sindia of the English Mahratta wars.

The last of these, caused by the countenance given by the chiefs to the excesses of the Pindhari robber-clans, came to an end in 1818, when the strongest race in India was finally subjected to British supremacy. The Peshwa surrendered his dominions to become, like the Great Mogul, a pensioner of the Indian Government, and the submission of the remaining principalities—Nagpur, Baroda, Gwalior, and Indore—finally closed a sanguinary chapter of history. Once indeed, since then, in the dominions of Sindia, has the sword been raised against the paramount power, but only in the confusion of an interregnum and disputed succession. The adopted son and heir of Daulat Rao having died childless in 1843, his widow's nomination of a boy of eight as his successor led to a mutiny of the troops, put down by British intervention. The victories of Punniar and Maharajpur left the State at Lord Ellenborough's mercy, but he used his power with moderation, reinstated the little Maharaja, and required only the assignment of territory yielding eighteen lakhs of rupees for the support of a State contingent.

The boy then placed on the throne by the style of Jyaji Rao Sindia, lived to hold the fate of England in his hands, and prove his gratitude in the supreme hour of her destiny. Few men have had the casting voice in so momentous a crisis of history as the young Sindia, when, in 1857, the Gwalior Contingent, their

weapons reeking with the blood of their officers, invited him to lead them against the foreign power, then engaged in a death-grapple with a quarter of a million of its own revolted soldiery. For the name of Sindia, with all its memories and traditions, would, if then cast on the side of rebellion, have been a trumpet-blast throughout India, summoning all its wavering and faltering masses to move and strike. There must have been much in the offer to tempt the Mahratta Prince—love of military glory, the dearest passion of his heart, the restlessness of his wild blood, the smouldering resentment of a subjugated race, all spoke in favour of its acceptance. But some instinct of loyalty stronger than all these kept Sindia true to the English alliance, and his influence, still powerful with the mutinous contingent, was successfully exercised to keep that formidable force inactive until the English reinforcements began to arrive, and the most critical period of the campaign was past.

In the later phase of the revolt Sindia had a more active part to play, when pitted against the fierce Amazon, who, with more favouring fortune, might have gone down to history as the Indian Joan of Arc. A woman brooding over her wrongs, the Rani of Jhansi found her opportunity in the great military revolt of 1857. Not only had her husband's principality, a minor Mahratta State, been annexed by Lord Dalhousie on his death without heirs in 1853, but her promised pension of £7,000 a year was subsequently declared chargeable with his debts. The treacherous massacre of British captives at Jhansi on June 8, 1857, gave her a first instalment of vengeance, but it was when leading the forlorn hope of the mutiny in the following year that she displayed the full resources of her courage and genius. By a brilliant stroke of audacity, doubtless conceived by her subtle brain, she and Tantia Topi, in May 1858, threw themselves on Central India, drove the soldier-hearted Sindia, defeated in the one battle of his life, from the field of Morar to the British cantonments at Agra, and proclaimed Nana Sahib, from the rock of Gwalior, as Hereditary Peshwa of the Mahrattas. But the Rani's dream of triumph was rudely broken in upon by the avenging arms of Sir Hugh Rose, who, on the field of Morar, on June 11, reversed the issue of the previous battle. The rebel forces were utterly routed, and the ill-starred Mahratta Princess, reluctantly swept from the field by the rush of fugitives, was cut down by a trooper in the hurry of the pursuit. Her body was burned to save it from falling into the hands of her enemies, and so her stormy career was brought to a lurid close. The restoration of Sindia followed, but the retention of Gwalior by the British, until within a few months of his death, was all his life resented by him as a distinct breach of faith.

Once again was Sindia's name heard in connection with that of a chief actor in the Mutiny, when, in October 1874, India was startled by the news that the infamous Nana Sahib had been captured in his dominions. The incident remains enshrouded in permanent mystery, for the prisoner submitted to the British Commission of Inquiry was declared to be a man of weak intellect, and certainly not the notorious criminal. It has been suggested, among many other attempted explanations, that a substitution of persons was effected by Sindia, in order to favour the escape of the titular head of the Mahrattas.

The conduct during the Mutiny of Sindia's brother chieftain, Holkar, has been gravely questioned, but the historians of that event agree in acquitting him of the charges of disloyalty hastily brought against him at the time.* When, on July 1, 1857, his guns and troops, sent for the protection of the English Residency at Indore, suddenly opened fire on it, his complicity in the act was indeed not an unnatural assumption, particularly as his name was used by the *ressaldar*, or cavalry officer, who gave the treasonable order. Hence, the startling note sent by Colonel Durand, the Acting Resident, to the British Commandant at Mhow. "Send the European battery as sharp as you can. We are attacked by Holkar." The subsequent conduct of the young Maharaja was however quite inconsistent with the theory of his guilt, as he sent to recover the remains of the treasure at the Residency, despatched it with his own jewels and personal property under escort to Mhow, and sheltered in his palace some European refugees whose heads were demanded by the mutineers. "I had no alternative," wrote Holkar himself on this subject, "but to offer them my own person, but I would not allow the poor Europeans to be touched before being killed myself." On July 4 he rode out to the Residency, and had an altercation with the rebels, whom he faced spear in hand, while they claimed his leadership, taunting him with cowardice, and reproaching him with the name of his fighting ancestor, Jeswant Rao, to which he replied that the murder of women and children was no part of the traditions of his house. The mutinous troops were subsequently disbanded, and British ascendancy restored in the State.

The striking parallelism between the lives of the late Holkar and Sindia was maintained by their almost simultaneous deaths on June 17 and 20, 1886. Both placed on the throne in the same year, 1843, Holkar at eleven, and Sindia at eight years of age, they reigned a like number of years, and lived nearly to the

* "History of the Sepoy War." By Sir John Kaye. London: 1864.
"History of the Indian Mutiny." By Col. G. B. Malleon. London: 1880.

same term. There was, however, a considerable divergence in their characters, and the passionate interest devoted by the one to his army was concentrated by the other on his treasury.

Sindia was unfortunate in domestic life. Having lost three sons in succession, he was for many years without an heir, and adopted his cousin Ranoji, who sought to expedite his own accession by a plot to poison his benefactor. The traitor's life was spared by the easy-tempered Maharaja, the birth of whose youngest son, in 1880, settled the question of succession. The counting of Sindia's treasure, which was found stored in dry cisterns, lasted for nearly a year after his death. It amounted to over seven million sterling, of which a portion has been lent by the Regency Durbar to the Indian Government at 4 per cent. interest.

The State of Gwalior has an area of 33,119 square miles, larger than that of Ireland, a population of two and a half millions, and a revenue of nearly a million sterling. The late Maharaja, who did little but play at soldiers all his life, had his army in a high state of efficiency, organized on the Prussian system with a trained reserve. Its numbers are put down at 16,050 foot and 6,058 cavalry, with 210 guns.

The State of Indore has an area of 8,435 square miles, a population of 576,000, and a revenue of £300,000, with an army of 5,500 foot, 3,000 horse, and 102 guns. The Maharaja is the owner of all the land in his dominions, in which no private individual can possess permanent, heritable, or alienable rights, consequently every cultivator is in the position of a tenant-at-will of the Crown. The Malwa opium, which the State is bound to dispose of at a fixed price to the Indian Government, is principally grown in Indore, the quantity exported in 1877-8 having been 16,423 chests. The vexatious system of transit dues on merchandize has been abolished since the accession of the present Maharaja.

The late ruler was succeeded by his elder son Sivaji Rao, born in 1858, the stately prince distinguished in the Jubilee festivities by his place of precedence, as well as by the splendour of his apparel, and the peculiar form of his uptwisted Mahratta turban.

The third of this group of states is Baroda, ruled by the Gaekwar, with an area of 4,399 square miles, a population of two million, and an army of 3,126 infantry and two squadrons of horse, with twenty batteries of artillery, besides an irregular force of 7,400 foot and 5,000 horse. Mulhar Rao, the late Gaekwar, was an adept in toxicology, and is said to have begun his experiments at the tender age of nine in an attempt to poison his nurse. At eighteen he sought the removal of his elder

brother by similar means, and his ultimate deposition, in April 1875, was mainly brought about by like nefarious practices on the life of the British Resident, Colonel Phayre. Syaji Rao, born in 1863, then chosen to succeed him from a younger branch of the reigning house, is the present ruler of Baroda, the same who, as a little prince, on his presentation to the Prince of Wales in 1875, was described by Dr. W. H. Russell as "a crystallized rainbow."* Nor was his Highness' prismatic effulgence to be wondered at, since his diamond necklace, with one stone, the "Star of the North," worth £90,000, and another, the "Star of Dresden," worth £45,000, represents a total value of £400,000; while he has another, composed of strings of pearls as large as pigeons' eggs, scarcely less costly. Baroda is indeed the typical Indian Court in its lavish display of Oriental accessories, in the gladiatorial shows of its arena, and the gaudily painted and caparisoned elephants of its processions; while the saddled and bridled giraffe, that figures in its State ceremonials, recalls the Indian heroes of Boiardo, described by the poet as mounted on that animal. Among its other gorgeous eccentricities, are gold and silver cannon, six-pounders, mounted on carriages also of the precious metals, and drawn by snowy oxen draped in brocade, with gilt and silvered horns. All the Mahratta Courts are remarkable for their splendour, an instance of which was furnished by the Prince of Wales's visit to Sindia's capital in 1875, when his bedstead, bath, and washing-service were of solid silver.

The exaggerated number of troops maintained by the native states is a form of display which causes considerable uneasiness to the Central Government. While the British forces in India numbered on March 31, 1885, 62,930 Europeans and 125,944 natives, total 188,874; the State armies are estimated as giving an aggregate of 305,225 men and 5,252 guns; without reckoning the native contingents, and other portions of the Indian army subsidized by individual princes. The Hindu States keep under arms 275,075; the Mohammedan States, 74,760; and the Mahratta States, 59,600 men.†

The existence of these formidable bodies necessitates the cantonment of a proportional number of Imperial troops near the frontiers of the states maintaining them. Thus Hyderabad, with its army 45,000 strong and 725 pieces of artillery, requires a corps of observation of 12,000 men, in addition to the 7,000 of the contingent, while the British garrisons at Morar and Jhansi

* "The Prince of Wales's Tour." By W. H. Russell. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1877.

† The Armies of the Native States of India. Reprinted from the "Times." London: Chapman & Hall. 1884.

must be maintained at their full strength, while confronted by Sindia's forces of 22,000 men and 210 guns. The maintenance moreover of these armies, in addition to withdrawing so large a number of men from productive industry, throws a heavy burden of taxation on the native population.

It is, however, easier to point out the evils of the existing state of things than to suggest a remedy. Interference with the sovereign rights of native rulers would create a ferment of feeling throughout India, and the grievances of the soldiers of the feudatory armies would be scarcely less keenly resented by their brethren in the Imperial service.

A more satisfactory solution, were it practicable, would be the gradual assimilation of the native and British forces, by their association in manœuvres and camps of instruction. The former would be thus rendered available with the latter for the general defence of the Empire, while a legitimate outlet would be afforded to the energies and ambition both of the native rulers and their subjects. Could a council of Princes be convened, occasionally to confer with the Viceroy on matters of public importance, another step would be taken in the direction of welding into organic unity the heterogeneous fragments of England's great dominion in the East. The present condition of isolated dependence of the feudatory states, deteriorating to the character alike of sovereigns and subjects, would be exchanged for a position of greater freedom and responsibility, a useful and honourable career would be opened to their rulers in place of the enervating routine of their own petty courts, and their already superabundant loyalty would be quickened by the sense that Imperial interests were committed to their keeping. Thus bound by a new and stronger tie to the Throne, to which they have so often proved their allegiance, they would take their fitting place as active members, instead of mere ornamental appendages, of the great Empire whose burdens and whose glory they would henceforth be called on to share.

E. M. CLERKE.

ART. III.—CATHOLIC WOMEN AND NIGHT-WORK.

1. *Children of Gibeon and All Sorts and Conditions of Men.* By WALTER BESANT. London: Chatto & Windus.
2. *The Work of the Laity.* By JAMES BRITTEN. DUBLIN REVIEW for July 1887.
3. *Girls' Club Union Monthly Magazine*, edited by Hon. MAUDE STANLEY and Mrs. BREWSTER; and *Report of Soho Club and Home*, 59 Greek Street, Soho Square, London.

I.

THE subject of work to be done for women by women, as set forth in the books whose names we have placed at the top of the list that heads this paper, is far too wide a one to be generally treated of in a single magazine article. It embraces the whole question of the position of working women—their pay, their social state, their moral condition; the influences of various sorts which may be brought to bear on them by women in other classes of life; and, in addition, many other questions which bear more or less directly on this one. It is clear that so broad a subject cannot be fully discussed in these pages: all that can be done here is to recommend the study of these books to those interested in the matter, and to treat practically one branch of the question, in its special relation to that work of the Catholic laity which was so strongly put forward in the last number of this REVIEW. The special branch I have chosen for treatment here is that of what may be put, broadly, under the head of “night-work” for the benefit of girls and women.

There has been a good deal said and written of late about the losses that the Church has sustained in England by the secession of her poorer members from various causes, and the need which this shows for more energy and vigilance on the part of Catholics in doing what they can to counteract such a misfortune. Mr. Britten has discussed this question, not only in the article named in our heading, but in several other papers; and he has also dwelt a good deal on the difficulties which the Catholic laity are said to find in working harmoniously with the clergy. Now, as regards this last point, I may have a word to say later on which may possibly go towards a solution of the matter, at any rate where women are concerned—and it is with women only that this paper is to deal; but, with regard to the first—that of “our losses”—nothing need here be said except one very obvious thing, which is naturally suggested by the consideration of a special feature in the branch of work to be discussed; and it is this:—

While there are many points of the work to be done for women—the remedies for their wrongs, the improvement of their pay, the lessening of their work, &c.—which are still open questions, this one point of providing places of evening resort for them in various forms, has, so to speak, *settled itself*. People may approve or disapprove; they may say that the habit of going to clubs and night-classes is destructive of domestic life; they may assign all sorts of causes to the demand for such things, and prophesy good or evil from the fact of the supply; but, nevertheless, it is a fact, the state of things is there, the need for such places has arisen; and, with that practical benevolence which may almost be called the religion of many people outside the Church in our day, non-Catholic society has hastened to provide them. The obvious conclusion from this fact is that, unless the same kind of thing is speedily provided by Catholics for their own people—and *well* provided, too—the whole work will fall into the hands of outsiders, and the “loss” brought about will be double—that of the gradual falling off of those who are already Catholics through the indirect influence of their associates, and that of those who *might* have been Catholics had the possessors of the Faith used all the means at their disposal for helping to spread the truth by showing practical sympathy with the needs and tendencies of the time.

Many people will probably here ask the question: “Why, in all this evening work, should there be *separate* organizations at all? Why should not Catholics and Protestants be fellow members of these institutions?” and this question had better at once be considered, as it is an all-important one in relation to the whole subject. On what ground can Catholics work consistently together with non-Catholics, and where can they not?

There are three cases in which it may, we think, be granted that philanthropic undertakings may be shared in by Catholics and others, not only with little harm but often with advantage—first, in the case of helping people to employment, and in all work that may be connected with such an object; secondly, where the question is one—whether in clubs, in giving special entertainments, or in whatever form it may take—of *simple amusement*; thirdly, in the case of teaching, where the instruction is of a purely artistic or mechanical kind. So long as institutions of any sort, whether night-schools or day-schools, clubs or lecture-halls, servants’ homes or needlework registries—whatever they may be, in short—honestly fulfil these conditions, or stop short at these objects, there seems really no reason why Catholics should not take advantage of such non-Catholic societies that are ready to hand, when something as good of our own is not easily procurable.

But—and in this lies the importance to us of the branch of work here treated—girls' night-schools and clubs for the most part *do not come under this head*, considered in their full scope. They may grow out of institutions which do come under it—some of them certainly have so grown; and they may be intended to stop short at such things as mere recreation, or teaching of a kind that involves no religious or moral questions; but practically they do not so stop short, and for good reason. Some "clubs" or night-classes are, it is true, provided, in the case both of men and of women, for people of responsible age, and of education and habits which make them really need only a place for recreation and learning, and where civilized behaviour and right conduct may be taken as a matter of course. But by far the larger number of the "clubs," now so common among non-Catholics, are established for the benefit of girls who lead the roughest lives, and with the express object of humanizing and civilizing these girls, as well as in many cases helping to strengthen them against great temptation. Now the ladies who manage such institutions, and become by so doing friends of the girls, may begin with the fullest intention of doing their work by purely secular means, and of being strictly "undenominational" or "unsectarian" in their system; but this does not last. If they are in earnest in their desire really to raise and improve the young women or children (for some are not much more) in whom they become interested, they find that something more than amusement and the teaching of arts must necessarily come into play. The girls are not going to be persuaded into such a difficult course as that of persistent self-control and self-denial—which is what goodness often means in their state of life—for no more personal reason than "the general good of society;" nor will the mere desire to imitate the refined ways and well-ordered habits of the ladies who are kind to them prove a sufficient motive for improvement in the long run. The consequence of all this is that the managing ladies in the end add to their programme Bible-classes, or other forms of religious instruction, which, in some cases, are accompanied by special attractions in the way of "teas" or amusements; and then, going further and wishing to keep a hold over the girls they have begun to influence, they take them to Church with them. If among the members of the club there happen to be careless and neglected Catholic girls, these are as likely as not to be taken with the others.

This is no imaginary account of what might happen, but a simple statement of facts that exist. A lady who has worked very hard at looking after and holding classes for girls of the small servant order, and has been remarkably kind in helping Catholics, herself said to the present writer: "You know it is

impossible to gain any *real* influence over girls of this sort without using some sort of religious teaching. I have found this, and I try to get them to go to Church with me. Sometimes when *your* girls seemed to be neglecting their own Church, they have come too; it seemed better than their going nowhere." Just the same thing was said by another lady in connection with a "girls' club," and in both cases it was said with perfect simplicity, and evidently without the least intention of wilful proselytising; indeed, in the first case the lady in question took great trouble to get the Catholic girls looked after by their own people, and was in the end the means of their being got together into a class under Catholic superintendence.

Now who, in such cases, is to blame? Certainly the ladies who manage these institutions cannot be called to account, for, from their point of view—especially as most of those who do this work belong to the "broad" section of the Church of England, even if not to some still vaguer form of religion (for we are not here taking into account professedly *Protestant* institutions, whether Church of England or other)—"any Church" is "better than no Church": it would be quite unreasonable to expect them to understand why Catholics, no matter how careless their lives may seem, do wrong in attending Protestant places of worship. The girls, then, it may be said, are to blame: they know better. It is quite true that they *ought* to know better, and that very likely some of them, who listen to non-Catholic teaching and go to Protestant Churches, do so with the consciousness that they are doing wrong. But, at the same time, no one who has made the smallest attempt at teaching their Catechism to some of the poor Catholic girls, Irish or English, who run the London streets or do rough kinds of labour, will feel inclined to deny the strong possibility existing that many of them may really *not* know what they are doing, so utter is their ignorance or their forgetfulness of the truths which are theirs by right. Nor, again, will any one who knows the immense influence that personal kindness and attention, as well as the example set by one another, have over girls, be the least surprised at such a result of the immense pains that these ladies take to help them, and of the association with an organized body of young people, not of the Faith. Young girls, in every class of life, are mostly very impressionable in their natures, and very much like sheep in their habits—what one does, another wants to do; and hence, if Catholic girls get under the influence of kindness from their "elders and betters," and of custom among one another, in non-Catholic institutions, the results *can* only be of this sort. If it were not for this, it certainly would seem unnecessary, with so much well-organized

machinery already at work, and so many admirable institutions actually existing, for separate Catholic ones to be started; but, such being the state of the case, it seems useless to deny that the latter are positively needed. As to "united" undertakings, that is, societies managed by mixed committees or staffs of Catholics and others, all sorts of unexpected difficulties are certain to arise the moment any question of direct religious teaching and influence comes into play. Let the *members* of girls' clubs and night-schools, and even the teachers of certain subjects, be what they may, the *managers* must be of one mind as to what the religious atmosphere shall be. The best thing, then, that Catholic ladies can do, in the face of these facts, is to rouse themselves from the lethargy, which seems to possess some, of believing that "good works" consist solely in such things as can be done by means of money or even by prayers, and to set to work practically at organizing and carrying out some such undertakings for the benefit of their own sex as are daily multiplying round us outside the Church, and which need for their success, first and foremost, persevering and minute *personal* trouble and self-denial.

Before quite leaving this part of the subject, it may be of some use to draw attention for a moment—there being here no time to dwell upon it—to another motive which should urge Catholic women to energy and earnestness in doing their share of work for the salvation of our large girl population: and that is, the tremendous weapon that is in their hands, for good in every direction, in their mere possession of the Faith. If there is one spirit that more than any other pervades society just now, it is that of *uncertainty*—uncertainty as to religious dogma, uncertainty as to the end of man, uncertainty as to the means of remedying social evils—appalling uncertainty, above all, as to the use of suffering and of the terrible inequalities of life. And we find this spirit underlying many of the most practical philanthropic schemes, narrowing their scope, and providing, though for the present unseen, an element of probable failure in the end. In such books, for instance, as those we have named above of Walter Besant's—books that are full of practical suggestions and of a genuine sympathy with women, and a desire to help them—of clear understanding, too, of many things which *will* help them; through even these there runs a tone which makes us say sadly, as we lay them down: "And what then? When we have done all—worked hard ourselves, got justice done to the girls, taught them, refined them, made them all society could wish—what is to follow? The end must come to each: are we to stand by their death-beds and give them no warmer comfort than Valentine had to give to Lotty as she lay dying?" Such

a thought, no doubt, is in the heart of many an earnest woman who is toiling her life out for the good of her poorer sisters; uncertainty in some form is inwardly haunting and restraining the souls of the workers, even while they hold their Bible-classes, and set religious motives before their pupils because they vaguely see that nothing else will hold good. And what is the paralysing effect of such a state of mind before any real difficulty as to right and wrong can perhaps be guessed, even by those who have never experienced it. The subject is far too great to be more than touched upon here; but my object in bringing it forward and asking Catholics to reflect upon it, is that they may take into account, in considering their motives for action, the immense blessing they possess in only having given to them the second question and answer of the "Penny Catechism;" a little thoughtful dwelling upon which answer (we have heard it suggested), by all classes of society, might possibly bring about that "social revolution" for which so many means of a less simple sort are being constantly planned.

It is not intended by all this to instigate Catholics to begin their classes or girls' clubs in a spirit of preaching: quite the contrary, as will be shown later on. But what I do mean to lay stress on is this: let a Catholic woman who undertakes such work be ever so ignorant of many questions that enter into the philanthropic schemes of the day; let her be unused to organization, unacquainted with principles of political economy, liable to make many mistakes at first for want of experience; let her, in short, have ever so much to learn from non-Catholic workers, she will *not* have this peculiar difficulty of uncertainty as to what she is aiming at. Suppose a girl, whose confidence she has won, more logical or more practical than some of her fellows, and inclined to follow her own will, to come to her and ask, "*Why* is all this? Why do you take the trouble to teach me? Why am I to labour at self-improvement? Why am I often to do what is disagreeable? Why, if a suffering or injustice cannot be remedied, am I to bear it cheerfully? What is the end of it all?" For such questions as these the Catholic woman has, for herself and her interlocutor, *a definite answer ready*. If it be asked—as it very well might be in some parts of London—by a born Catholic who has nearly forgotten her religion, the answer may lead to a practical return to it; if by one who is "nothing," it may give rise to thoughts which, even though they may not bring the questioner into the Church, will ultimately be the cause of her salvation.

Now, for a body of women—however small a one compared to others—to possess so great a power for helping their fellow-creatures as this one of simple certainty in faith implies, and to

hold back from using every means they can to spread it among the future wives and mothers of the country, with all the many motives and helps towards good life that follow in its train, seems, to those who once begin thinking, to be incurring a very serious responsibility.

It may as well be stated at once, in reply to an objection that may here be raised, that we assume Catholics, while keeping the *management* of their evening institutions entirely in Catholic hands, and making it distinctly understood that they are intended for Catholic girls and provide only Catholic religious teaching, *not* to refuse admittance to others who may wish to come under these known conditions.

II.

The need for Catholic night-classes, &c., having thus been stated, a second branch of the subject comes up for discussion.

It is very common now to hear, from Catholics themselves, lamentations over the comparatively bad and unmethodical way in which various sorts of philanthropic classes are managed among us, as contrasted with their successful management among Protestants. The complaint is very likely, to some extent, exaggerated; but, allowing for this, there is certainly some truth in this view of things; and, before going further, it may be as well to try shortly to find out the main causes of such defects, and to suggest remedies for them. It is always good in beginning an undertaking to have some notion of what to avoid in connection with it.

What, then, are the chief elements of failure or weakness in institutions started by Catholic lay-women? We think that they can be put, mainly, under three heads. First, there can be no doubt that the mere novelty of them has much to do with the matter: the present state of things, and especially that part of it which necessitates so much night-work, is, to begin with, comparatively new in itself; and still more new is the notion that Catholic ladies "in the world" should undertake such work. For many years past it has been more or less taken for granted that nuns should do, in the main, whatever was wanted of this kind for girls; and now that the needs have come to be of a sort that cannot be fully supplied by nuns, many people who may be perfectly willing to undertake the work are at a loss simply for lack of experience. The remedy for this difficulty is very simple: it is like the youthfulness for which young people are consoled by being told that it is "a misfortune that will cure itself." Let Catholics carefully, and in a business-like way, study the methods by which other people's successful undertakings have been formed, and the principles on which they are

managed; and then let them go quietly on without minding criticism, and they will succeed in the end.

The mention of a *business-like* course of proceeding brings us to a second source of weakness in many Catholic schemes, and one for which they themselves, and not circumstances at all, are responsible. This defect was once described to the writer so tersely, that it cannot be better defined here than by giving the exact words of the speaker who remarked on it. The defect is of a double nature, and applies especially—at least it did so on this occasion—to works done by women. “One thing that makes many undertakings of this sort fail is”—(this was the first half of the criticism)—“that they are not looked upon as *work*, but as ‘a work.’” That is, ladies—and especially ladies who spend most of their time in society and amusement—start some supposed-to-be-charitable undertaking, ticket it “a good work,” talk about it everywhere, make a great fuss, perhaps worry the local priests nearly to death about it; and finally, when they find that it will not go of itself, but requires some steady supervision and personal trouble on their own part—in short, some real hard work—to keep it up, they drop it, and depart. Had they never even thought of its being “a good work” at all, but simply looked upon it as a thing they had the opportunity of doing for their fellow-creatures, and, instead of talking about it, had they made it their business to do it themselves, a different result might have been obtained.

The second half of the criticism was this: “Ladies (meaning Catholics), when they start these kinds of things, are so very apt to want to be *amateur spiritual directors*.” In other words, women very often do not know where to draw the line: they long to do moral and spiritual good; they are eager either to convert or to reform; and they have not either logic enough or experience enough to see that they must be very often content to do such work indirectly. Where they might do enormous good in the end by working patiently at the organizing and keeping up of a night-school, or some such professedly “secular” institution, and using their feminine gifts for influencing the girls and women with whom they have to do in the intellectual or civilizing directions—leaving anything more to spring gradually and naturally out of this—they often spoil all by rushing straight away into interference with souls of a foolish or dangerous kind, and into work generally which, though the highest of all in its proper place and season, *out* of that place and season may do more harm than good. Now, is it an unwarrantable suggestion to make that this double defect of over-fussiness and capriciousness on the one hand, and of unwise tampering with spiritual offices on the other, may—as far as women are concerned—

perhaps be sometimes the cause of that discouragement or unfriendly interference on the part of priests that Mr. Britten asserts to be often a hindrance to "the work of the laity"? Certainly he is speaking of men, and of course their position is different from that of women; but at any rate the question is worth considering. Probably, if those who have any practical experience in such matters were consulted, they would tell any ladies who wished to unite in starting an institution of the kind under discussion for the benefit of their own sex, that, if they would set to work quietly in any parish, do their business without a fuss, and steadily persevere in it, they would be likely to find themselves neither interfered with, nor refused such help as they might really need, by the parish priest. Priests are often as fully alive as any one can be to the fact that a large part of the work now required for women and girls is not a man's business at all, but can be done by their fellow-women only; and, *so long as the work is done wisely*, such priests are much more likely to be grateful for it than to put hindrances in its way. But if they find in the long run that the only women who stick to what they undertake, and do their work quietly on their own account, are nuns, it is but natural that they should turn to them for help, even where they know that, from the nature of things, this help can only be partial; and "seculars" have in that case only themselves to blame if they are discouraged.

The third obvious defect in the philanthropic efforts of Catholics is this, that too many Catholics are apt to do this sort of thing from selfish motives—that is, spiritually selfish. There is often too little real human sympathy and interest in the spirit of their work. They see that something ought to be done, that it is required of them to do it, that it will perhaps be better for their own souls in the next world if they do it—in short, a good many feel, and some openly say, that they undertake such work "that they may escape some purgatory by it." Now, it is very certain that we don't do what we *like* to escape purgatory; therefore, this is only another way of saying that they do all this as a penance; and this sort of spirit has a two-fold evil effect. To begin with, it prevents the very object itself from being attained; for it may at once be laid down as a maxim that no one will ever make much impression or gain much influence for good who attempts these undertakings without a genuine interest in them for their own sake. Without this, people will be more or less of a weight on their fellow-workers, and will in some way betray their want of sympathy to those they work for. So important is this point that the best advice that can be given to any one who honestly feels that she can only join in this work from a sense of compulsion, and without any true pleasure in it, is—to

stay away, and confine her help to money, if she has any to give. This may sound severe ; but any one who has tried to work with helpers who come in a " penitential " spirit will understand it. Then, in the second place, this motive for working often causes the work to be soon dropped. People either do not, after all, care so very much to escape some of their purgatory ; or, at least, some shorter or less dull way of escaping it may be found : frequent walks through bad weather to a night-school, perhaps to find only two girls present when you get there, are a wearisome way of helping your soul ! And thus, from staying away in really bad weather, you come to staying when it is rather bad, and then to staying away altogether and giving up the whole thing. Whereas, if the work is simply taken up for the immediate and unselfish object of doing good to others, from love of God and of your neighbour, in this particular way, there can be no temptation to change it for some other alternative, as it is obvious that nothing else will do instead.

That there are innumerable individual Catholics, in all parts of the country, working for others without a touch of any of these defects in their undertakings, no one can for a moment doubt. But we are here discussing, not individuals or private works, but work done in combination for public benefit, in which the spirit of each worker will tell upon the whole ; and which, if undertaken at all, will have to stand the severe test of comparison with outside work of the same sort. Moreover, the above remarks perhaps apply especially to London Catholic ladies, who get every spiritual advantage for themselves with such extreme and enervating ease that religion itself is apt to become only one more luxury added to their lives, and " charity " one more excitement to be talked about, rather than a real thing to be laboured at. Now, it is of *London* needs chiefly that we are here treating ; and a little more detailed consideration of the work demanded will show that it is a robust and self-sacrificing spirit of faith that is required to carry it out successfully.

III.

To come, now, to the positively practical branch of the subject—What, exactly, does this night work consist in ; and how and by whom is it to be done ?

Evening institutions, broadly speaking, are of the following kinds :—(1) for mental or intellectual training, which applies to *Night-schools* ; (2) for humanizing or social purposes, which are the object of *Recreation Rooms*, clubs, or whatever such places may be called ; and (3) for spiritual or religious teaching, which means *Catechism* or *Instruction Classes*. The last branch of the work we will take first, as there is not much to be said here

about it, for it is rather an offshoot from the real night-work than an actual part of it. Such teaching should not be a necessary part of a night-school or club; it should come in, in connection with it, only as it is found to be needed and desired by the members; it should be so arranged as to be separate from the rest of the programme, being generally given on Sunday afternoons, and it should be purely voluntary; and, finally, it should consist of *definite* teaching, either of the ordinary Catechism to young or ignorant girls, or of some higher Catechism to older ones; or of a course of lessons on the Gospels, or the Christian festivals, or any other subject likely to be useful and attractive that the lady who teaches may be equal to getting up. Any one wishing to teach in this way, and finding a difficulty in so doing, cannot do better than go to a certificated mistress, religious or secular, of an elementary school, for hints and names of books to help her, or to some of the nuns who lecture to the scholars in the girls' training colleges. Where the girls to be taught are very young or at all disposed to be wild, one more suggestion may be made—that, namely, given to a visitor by a worker in one of Don Bosco's celebrated institutions, and quoted in Mr. Britten's pamphlet on "Catholic Clubs": "Whatever you do—*be short*;" also, associate the religious instruction class with as much pleasantness as possible in the way of games, singing, and occasional tea as supplementary. In one of the very best London girls' clubs the lady who manages it holds the Bible-class in connection with it, on Sunday afternoons, at her own house, while another lady gives a similar class on Sunday evenings at the club itself. As this paper concerns really only night-work proper, merely a suggestion can be made here; but would it not be possible for some ladies, unable to go out at night or to do much active work, to plan a system of taking classes of girls at their own homes on Sunday afternoons? In many London houses there must be some room that could be used for such a purpose for an hour or so; and the class need not even interfere with that sacred institution in so many families of "receptions" on Sunday afternoons at five o'clock tea, as the ordinary hour for such meetings is about 3.30, so that they would be over before tea-time. If any ladies liked to try this plan, pending the establishment of more regular Catholic institutions, they might communicate with the managers of the various girls' clubs, and make it known that any Catholic members belonging to them would find a kind reception and a class of instruction in their own religion at their respective houses.

Next, as regards night-schools *proper*: these are, as is well known, now becoming so common under the management of Board schools, that in all probability the whole question of them

will before long have to be taken up by the managers of Voluntary schools in connection with the regular day-work, and will become a matter of regularly appointed and paid masters and mistresses. As regards Catholics, however, the more volunteers that will come forward the better, there being already difficulty enough in finding proper payment for the day-school teachers among us. At the same time, it must be admitted that this branch of the evening work is by far the most difficult to manage, since for five "volunteer" helpers in night-work who are able and willing in some form or other to amuse and keep things going, there is certainly not more than one who can and will *teach* in any way worthy of the name. For the present, by far the best plan, and one that is being adopted in existing girls' clubs and homes, seems to be that of uniting a night-school with a place for social recreation, in whatever form best suits the needs and the material forthcoming of the special place.

We come, then, as the centre of all the forms of good to be done, to a place of resort with "instruction and amusement combined," after the fashion of the old children's books, which place may be called indifferently a "club," "recreation rooms," or "evening home." Its object, in any case, is—or ought to be—a double one: that of attracting girls, after hard and rough work, or after idle days in the streets, to spend their evenings safely and pleasantly, in society which will help to humanize and refine them; and that of affording means of higher instruction and rational amusement to girls who are not rough and uncivilized to begin with, and to whose own good conduct and exertions it is owing that they are not so, but who are thrown by circumstances into positions which make them very much need some attractive evening resort. It is a very great mistake to go upon the plan of caring, in this sort of work, *only* for the very rough and poor class of girls whose need for help is most obvious. Well-dressed, well-spoken, and quietly behaved young women may often have as much need of friends, and suffer as much in London from a lack of good and innocent recreation and opportunity of improvement if they wish for it, as their sisters lower down in the scale of civilization. The existence of these two classes who need help, with their various "shades" up and down, is indeed the cause of some debate among managers of night institutions; some holding that the classes must be kept entirely apart if the work is to be successful, others repudiating the idea. In the club to which we are about directly to draw special attention, there is no division at all; the girls who take advantage of it range from the workers in the roughest factories to "young ladies" in smart milliners' show-rooms, and mix socially with perfect satisfaction. But then this club has been one of slow

growth, and has been formed by degrees, at the cost of infinite trouble on the part of the managers; and it may be laid down as a general rule that any institution which grows up gradually from small beginnings will have a spirit different from that of one which is started, so to speak, from above, not from below. The former *makes* its own habits and customs as it grows, having perhaps had hardly any set rules or system to begin with. We are speaking here rather of the starting of institutions "full-blown," in the light of those that already exist; and the principle we should suggest for these, as regards the *class* question, is, in the main, this:—

Let the ground of division in clubs or night-schools be that of *age* and *payment* only, and not of social status at all; the latter difficulty will then settle itself. As regards age, it is becoming a well-recognized fact that, if we are to do any lasting good to that part of the population which is inclined to run the streets at night, we must get hold of them when they first leave school. This subject was admirably treated, as no doubt some readers will remember, by a paper in the *Nineteenth Century* of about two years ago, called "From Thirteen to Seventeen," by Mr. Walter Besant, and the truth of what he then said is being more and more proved daily. Now, many children leave school at about twelve years old, and in many cases, though they may have small places in the day, are then and there thrown on the streets for amusement at night. But older girls, from sixteen upwards, are very apt—as we all fully recognize in the more educated classes of life—to dislike the society of younger ones, and would by no means care to belong to a club shared by "children." Therefore, we say, let age form one ground of division, and have either separate "junior" institutions for girls when they first leave school, up to the age of sixteen; or, if found better, junior and senior branches of the same for the elder and younger members.

Then, as regards the paying distinction: here there is also a perfectly natural division, and one universally recognized in other things. It is quite just that those in receipt of better wages, or wishing for better returns for their money, should pay more for what they get. Let, then, institutions where there are more comfortable rooms, higher subjects taught, and more expenses consequently involved, ask fairly good subscriptions from their members, in addition to whatever they may have in the way of funds from outside subscribers. But, where there are fewer advantages—perhaps only needlework and some one other subject taught—and where the meetings are held in school-rooms not really belonging to the club or class, or in places of which they have only the partial use, so that expenses are smaller and every-

thing on a rougher scale, let the subscription asked be quite small. In the case of girls *under* sixteen—children, in fact—the club may very well be *free*; but, for the older ones, a small subscription is undoubtedly a better plan.

There are already, in different parts of London, certain Catholic institutions, formed more or less upon one or other of the above principles, and all needing more help to bring them to greater perfection and increase their usefulness. Some of these were mentioned in a very practical and suggestive pamphlet called "*The Loss of our Girls*," by Mr. Britten, reprinted from the *Month* last May; and any people wishing to take a share in some work already existing, rather than to start fresh ones on their own account, can find out all they wish about these by communicating with their respective managers, whose names are given in the pamphlet. We will here, however, suppose Catholic ladies wishing to institute some fresh work of their own, but doubtful about a plan to go upon; and to them no better means can be recommended of learning the way to set about such an undertaking—that is to say, the *kind of thing* they should aim at building up—in all its details, than that of procuring some numbers of the little *Girls' Club Union Magazine*, named at the head of this article, together with one or two of the annual "*Reports*," and studying them carefully. Here they will find, besides full rules and details of Miss Stanley's own institution, accounts of the various forms of kindness and help to girls springing out of it, many of which might be practised by Catholics, both in and out of London, who were unable to take part in the actual management or visiting of a club; and also a list of no less than *twenty-five* other institutions, more or less of the same kind, eleven of them being in London and the rest in different parts of the country, all of which, with two exceptions, have sprung into existence between 1880 and the present year. Of the two exceptions, one is at Nottingham, date 1879; and the other, apparently a Ritualist institution, at Hackney, is the earliest of all on the list, being dated as far back as 1864. Any of these places it is of course possible to get leave to visit, by writing to their secretaries; but, in London, no one could do better than get leave to spend "*a week of evenings*" at the Greek Street Club, so as to watch its regular course. They will there see, besides a remarkably well-managed social meeting-room (the "*club*" proper) and an excellently organized system of government, two other things under the same roof, *i.e.*, a "*home*," or lodging-house, for women in business, and—rather lately added, we believe—a regular night-school, gaining a government grant, together with classes for club members in several subjects. And, let us add, the sight of this now large and flourishing institution need dishearten no

one on the ground of its size and many advantages, for it has taken seven years to come to its present condition, and it originated in a mere night-school for very rough girls, held once or twice a week in a parish school-room lent for the purpose.

Last—but certainly very far from least—by what means and by what people is this work to be accomplished among Catholics? As to means—that is, money—it may be said without hesitation that not nearly so much is needed as many people suppose. *Some*, of course, must be found: it will be a very long time before even the better class of these institutions can pay themselves; but it is difficult to believe that if once Catholic women begin considering this matter in serious earnest, and realizing their own responsibility in it, they will not find means to procure as much as is really necessary. Take, for instance, all the girls in Catholic London who go in for “the season,” and who spend a great part of the remaining year in amusement, and suppose them to make up their minds that—if they can do nothing else—they will at least, out of their own allowances, create a “fund” to be spent on helping working-girls—would not such a determination in a very short time produce wonderful results? There is not a girl possessing a fair allowance for her dress who could not, by a little self-denial, a little courage in appearing rather oftener in the same costume, an occasional going without a small pleasure—some renunciation, in short, which would affect no one’s real comfort but her own—save a yearly sum which would represent no small amount of help in such undertakings as are here in question. The only two really *necessary* expenses in beginning a girls’ club are the rent of a room (or two rooms if possible) with fire and lights, and the payment of some one to keep it clean—which expense will vary from £26 to £50 a year according to the neighbourhood—and the initial expense of furnishing. This last, in point of fact, ought hardly to be necessary, except where an actual school is concerned, for the discarded or superfluous furniture from private people’s houses would furnish many sets of rooms for girls if it was carefully taken count of instead of being packed aside into corners, thrown away, or sold or exchanged at a contemptible profit. In fact, the real success of the whole thing, as has been said before, depends so much more on personal energy than on anything else, that it finally resolves itself into the question of the people necessary to the work.

As to numbers, there must first be *one* lady in each of these institutions, however small, who is absolutely devoted to it—that is, not necessarily to be at the place herself every night, but to have its interests deeply at heart, to care for it much as a mother would for her own family, and be ready to make any sacrifice within her own power to supply the place of other

helpers, should they fail. This individual is usually described as "secretary," but in fact often combines the offices of secretary, treasurer, and manager-in-chief. Next, this head ought to have under her a staff of ladies, each of whom undertakes one, and *only one*, evening a week of management, combined with teaching or amusement as the case may require: if this staff can consist of twelve, giving two helpers to every night, so much the better; if not six must do, or even four, if the manager chooses to take two nights a week by herself; but, whatever the number, the one duty of all this staff is *regularity*. No one should undertake such work without determining that nothing but illness or some serious trouble or event in her family shall keep her away during that part of the year for which she promises to give it. Any habitual irregularity in the members of a managing staff is fatal to the success of an undertaking, and herein lies the great "crux."

Who is to do all this? Who are the people that will undertake to come week after week at an hour when they would naturally be resting or amusing themselves, with the regularity and business-like-ness of paid officials added to the zeal and ardour of volunteers? For these are exactly the needful qualities. A few, of course, are found among the ranks of those who live the ordinary life of society, who will gladly give up some of their time in this way; but such devotion is not common, and more than a few are wanted if this work is to make a real and lasting impression. For, in fact, a number of such institutions on a *small* scale, each one managed by an equally energetic and zealous staff, would do far more good in the long run than a few very large and imposing ones. It is quite certain that nuns cannot do a great part of the work, if for no other reason than that it necessitates going out at night, and keeping places open up to an hour incompatible with any religious rule. To put the practical management of the business into the hands of a paid matron or superintendent, leaving the ladies concerned in it to be merely "visitors," more or less regular as may be convenient to them, is of course one way, and a way adopted in some existing institutions, of settling the difficulty. But in face of the great scarcity of money which is so universal an outcry among Catholics, it is a pity to resort to such a means unless an institution has really become so large and so thoroughly established that such an official is certainly needed, and her position likely to be permanent. It seems hard if Catholic charity, in these days of active "work" for women, can do nothing more generous than this. What we really want, in truth, is a small army of more or less cultivated women *given* to such work—given to it as to a regular calling, and doing it with the spirit and perseverance, though *not* with the profession, of Religious. The question of this need belongs really to a wider one which cannot

be fully entered into here, but we may make one suggestion concerning it as a conclusion.

Is it not a little too much taken for granted among Catholics that every woman who has an inclination to work for others, and to lead a more or less regular and serious life, *must* therefore go into a convent, and that those who remain "in the world" have no vocation at all, but must lead a life of frivolous and aimless description, unless they marry? Cardinal Manning, in his "Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost," attacks this way of looking at things, and says plainly that it is a great mistake to suppose that every woman has necessarily a vocation either for marriage and domestic life, or for the religious life, as such, there being, in fact, many women who have neither, but who *have* a calling to some regular and serious pursuit.

Now, would it not be possible for a few of the single women who are at present leading somewhat aimless, and possibly lonely lives—some of them, perhaps, having "tried their vocation" vainly in more than one community, and spending much time over regretting their failure in this direction—to take the above view into consideration, and to try what they could do by devoting themselves systematically and studying the question thoroughly, towards a solution of the "girl" difficulty? If only two or three such, living either together or at least near each other, in different parts of London, would make a beginning, others might follow; and a few such "centres"—formed more or less on the plan of the Association of Metropolitan Lady Nurses for the Poor—devoted to the express purpose of doing this night-work, with all the many forms of help to girls which spring out of it, might end by producing an incalculable amount of good.

As I said, the suggestion only can be made here: it must be left to any ladies who will take the matter seriously into their thoughts, and consider it in all its bearings, to carry some such plan into effect.

CATHOLICA.

NOTE.—I would suggest, for the benefit of such as may prefer having some definite work brought under their attention, three parts of London in which there are special fields for work among girls: First, in the parish of St. George's, Southwark, there is great need of a lady who would go and *live* in the neighbourhood of the Westminster Bridge Road, and there co-operate with a lady already working hard for the innumerable poor and badly paid work-girls of that district (where the manufactories carrying on the roughest sort of trades are legion) in establishing a "home," classes, &c., for them. The address of this lady was given in Mr. Britten's pamphlet, mentioned above.

Second, at Bow, where Bryant and May's factories employ numbers,

and Irish work-girls abound, help for them is terribly needed. The Dominican sisters do all they possibly can by the holding of meetings and establishing of guilds for the girls; but they, like all nuns, cannot go out at night, or keep their own place open to late hours; and they are terribly hampered in their work by want of room, and by the existence of some excellent non-Catholic club or institution which tempts the girls by its comforts and advantages. Any lady, or ladies, who would go and open an attractive night-class and club for Catholic work-girls in this neighbourhood would be warmly welcomed, and could do a great work if they would really devote themselves. The Mother Prioress at St. Catherine's Convent, Bow, E., would be the person to consult on this branch of work.

Third, a regular girls' club and night-school is extremely needed in the district of Chelsea, near the river, where there are already two non-Catholic institutions on a large scale, to which several Catholic girls now belong; and where there are many Catholic workers at the large jam, cigar, and other factories of the neighbourhood.



ART. IV.—THE CONSTITUTION OF 1782.

A History of England in the Eighteenth Century. By WILLIAM HARTPOLE LECKY, Vols. V. and VI. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

IN a former number of this Review (October 1882) I gave an account, based mainly upon chapters in Mr. Lecky's previous volumes, of Ireland's recovery of her national independence a century ago. It was, in the words of Grattan, "a progress from injuries to arms, and from arms to liberty;" "liberty," he insisted, "according to the frame of the British Constitution, the inheritance of the Irish nation, to be enjoyed in perpetual connection with the British Empire." I ventured to call that great change "The Resurrection of Ireland:" surely not too strong a phrase to describe the restitution of her national independence, her civil freedom, after she had lain for centuries in darkness and the shadow of death: "sine adjutorio, sicut vulnerati dormientes in sepulchris." That this happy consummation was chiefly due to the illustrious orator whose name I have just mentioned was allowed on all hands: "the man," said Fitzgibbon, in 1785, "to whom this country perhaps owes more than any State ever owed to an individual: the man whose wisdom and virtue directed the happy circumstances of the times and the spirit of Irishmen, to make us a nation." "To make us a nation:" the words may be

paralleled from Grattan's own speech—one of the noblest masterpieces of oratory the world possesses—delivered in moving the Amendment to the Address on the 17th of April, 1782. "Ireland," he declared, "was a distinct kingdom, with a separate Parliament, and this Parliament alone had a right to frame laws for her. In the maintenance of this right," he held, "the liberties of Ireland consisted, and they would yield it only with their lives." "I am now," he added, "to address a free people. Ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation. I have spoken on the subject of your liberty so often that I have nothing to add, and have only to admire by what heaven-directed steps you have proceeded until the whole faculty of the nation is braced up to the act of her own deliverance. I found Ireland on her knees. I watched over her with an eternal solicitude. I have traced her progress from injuries to arms, and from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift, spirit of Molyneux, your genius has prevailed. Ireland is now a nation. In that new character I hail her, and, bowing to her august presence, I say, *Esto Perpetua!*" And similarly the Resolution of the Irish House of Commons of the 19th of June, 1782, declared that "the exclusive right of legislation in the Irish Parliament, in all cases, external and internal, had been already asserted by Ireland, and fully, irrevocably, and finally acknowledged by England." The Constitution of 1782, as it is called, was then the sign and seal of Ireland's recovered independence, of her vindicated nationality. In what I am about to write I propose to consider the working of this Constitution during the first ten years of its existence. And in executing this task, I shall do little more than summarize the masterly chapters with which the last of Mr. Lecky's recently published volumes concludes. It is unnecessary that I should here again expatiate upon the great qualities, both intellectual and ethical, which have won for Mr. Lecky so high a place as a writer of history. But I may remark that they are nowhere more signally displayed than in this portion of his work. The fulness of his erudition is equalled only by the amplitude of his candour. I know not whether to admire more the breadth of his thought or the elevation of his tone. The Irish question is emphatically the question of the hour, and if history is, as the hackneyed dictum asserts, "philosophy teaching by experience," then assuredly Mr. Lecky's chapters—whether or no we agree with his views—ought to be of the greatest service towards enabling us *πρὸς τὰς παρούσας πημονὰς ὀρθῶς φρονεῖν*. If my article at all helps any of my readers to do this, I shall not have written in vain. But of course those who desire adequately to realize the fulness of meaning possessed by the events on which I shall have to touch,

should consult Mr. Lecky's own pages. "*Melius est petere fontes quam sectari rivulos.*"

In the Constitution of 1782, then, Ireland obtained the recognition of her national existence. It was conceded that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland alone had a right to pass laws which Irishmen were bound to obey. How did this autonomy work during the decade with which we are at present concerned? That is a question which cannot be answered in one word. In the first place, it is certain that during those ten years the material prosperity of the country advanced—to use Mr. Gladstone's phrase—by leaps and bounds. In 1796, Sir John Parnell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated in Parliament that:—

It was his pride and his happiness to declare that he did not think it possible for any nation to have improved more in her circumstances since 1784 . . . than Ireland had done; from that time the debt of the nation had decreased £96,000, and the interest on the debt still remaining had decreased £17,000 per annum, which was precisely the same thing, at four per cent., as if the principal had been reduced £425,000 more. Add to this the great increase of trade, our exports alone having increased £800,000 last year beyond the former period; and he believed it would be difficult in the history of the world to show a nation rising faster in prosperity.

In 1793 Crumpe published that remarkable "*Essay on the best Means of providing Employment for the People,*" which is one of the most faithful, and at the same time most unflattering, pictures of the social and industrial condition of Ireland. But while tracing with an unsparing hand the great industrial failings of the people, he adds that "the defects which have been noticed are daily diminishing. The middling ranks are becoming more attentive to their debts and less indulgent to their extravagance. A spirit of industry is infusing its regenerating vigour among them; the vain and ridiculous aversion to the pursuits of commerce or other industrious occupations is wearing out, and the encouragement of agriculture more generally attended to. The lower classes are becoming more industrious, more wealthy, more independent. . . . The situation of the peasant has since the final pacification of the kingdom, but more especially since the settlement of its Constitution in 1782, been daily improving." . . . Of the causes of this prosperity, two at least of the most important are sufficiently obvious, while others may give rise to considerable dispute. The abolition of the trade restrictions, by which Irish prosperity had been so long cramped and stunted, was at once followed by a great increase in nearly every branch of commerce, and especially in the Irish trade with the West Indies, while the abolition of the more oppressive portions of the penal code brought back much capital which had been invested on the Continent, and caused Irish wealth, industry, and energy to flow freely in Irish channels. A few years of external and internal peace, light taxes, and good national credit followed, and enabled the country to profit largely by these new advantages. In the

opinion, however, of the best Irish writers and politicians of the eighteenth century, very much was also due to the great impulse which was given to agriculture by the corn bounties of 1784, and to the large parliamentary grants for carrying out public works and for instituting and encouraging different forms of manufacture. Of the corn bounties and the extreme importance that was attached to them I have already spoken. Whatever may be thought of them, there is at least, I think, no question that the great corn trade which had arisen in the last sixteen years of the century was an important element of Irish wealth; and it was mentioned in Parliament that about three years after the bounties on exportation had been granted, the exports of corn already attained the annual value of £400,000.

Large grants were also made for fisheries, canals, harbours, and other public works, and a system of bounties for encouraging particular manufactures was extensively pursued. This system is exceedingly alien to modern English notions; but in judging it, we must remember that it prevailed—though on a proportionately smaller scale—in England and in most other countries; that in Ireland it was originally a partial counterpoise or compensation for many unjust and artificial restrictions imposed on the different branches of native industry, and also that it was pursued in a country where the elements of spontaneous energy were incomparably weaker than in England. . . . The corn trade and the linen trade stood at the head of Irish industries, and while the first had almost entirely arisen within the period we are examining, the latter had rapidly increased. In 1788 Foster observed that in the six preceding years the annual export of linen had risen from twenty to thirty millions of yards. A number of other manufactures and industries were at the same time growing up. The silk manufacture underwent violent fluctuations, but it was stated in the Irish Parliament in 1784 that there were at that time no less than 1,400 silk looms at work in Dublin, employing 11,000 persons. In a speech in 1785, Foster, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated in the Irish Parliament that formerly Ireland was accustomed annually to import new drapery to the amount of upwards of 300,000 yards, but that the importation had almost ceased, and the native manufacture had so developed that the exports of Irish drapery exceeded 650,000 yards a year. The cotton manufacture was only introduced into Ireland after 1780, but in 1785 it was computed that it already employed nearly 30,000 people. In 1783, £4,000 was granted by the Parliament for cotton machinery, and in the following year the Vice-Treasurer was directed to issue bills to the amount of £25,000 to Capt. Brooke for carrying that manufacture into the county of Kildare. His great manufacture at Prosperous in that county ultimately failed, but several other cotton manufactures were scattered over Ireland, and Irish printed cotton obtained a considerable reputation, and is said to have been largely smuggled into England. The glass manufacture, which had been crushed by the iniquitous English law of George II., forbidding the Irish to export their glass to any country whatever, revived with reviving liberty. Lord Sheffield noticed in 1785 that nine glass-houses had suddenly arisen, and that large quantities of

Irish glass were already exported to America. It was boasted that the glass made at Waterford fully equalled the best article of English manufacture. A hat and a carpet manufacture existed on a small but an increasing scale; Irish gloves and tabbinets were widely sought for even on the Continent, and from 1790 to 1792 the wealth of the country was very materially increased by the foundation or great extension of breweries of ale and porter. Cork was the chief centre, and they were warmly encouraged by the Irish Parliament, not only on economical, but also on moral grounds, as counteracting that excessive use of spirituous liquors which was the great bane of Ireland. Newenham mentions the curious fact that at the close of the eighteenth century, in the province of Munster, the use of malt liquors greatly exceeded that of spirits.

This picture of the condition of Ireland in the earlier years of its independent Parliament differs, I know, widely from an impression which is very general in England: but the more important facts on which I have formed my judgment have been fully stated, and those who desire to examine the subject in detail can easily follow the indications I have given."*

Such was the growth of Ireland in material prosperity during the first ten years of the Constitution of 1782. Turn we now to its political condition. And first, let it be remembered that, though this Constitution relieved Catholics from some of the most abominable provisions of the penal laws, it gave them not the smallest share of political power. This has been forcibly stated by Mr. Lecky in the following passage:—

The Revolution of 1782 had placed Ireland, ostensibly at least, in the rank of free and self-governed kingdoms, but it left the Catholics with no more political rights than the serfs of Russia or of Poland. The very law that enabled them to acquire land, made them more sensible of the disqualification which, in their case alone, deprived land of the franchise which the Constitution had annexed to it. It was impossible that in such a state of society intelligent Catholics could contemplate their own position in Ireland without feelings of the keenest humiliation and resentment. Though they represented the immense majority of the people, they were wholly excluded from the executive, from the legislature, from the judicial powers of the State, from all right of voting in parliamentary and municipal elections, from all control over the national expenditure, from all share in the patronage of the Crown. They were marked out by law as a distinct nation, to be maintained in separation from the Protestants, and in permanent subjection to them. Judged by the measure of its age, the Irish Parliament had shown great liberality during the last twenty years; but the injury and the insult of disqualification still met the Catholic at every turn. From the whole of the great and lucrative

* Vol. vi. p. 437. The authorities on which Mr. Lecky founds himself are given by him in a note.

profession of the law he was still absolutely excluded, and by the letter of the law the mere fact of a lawyer marrying a Catholic wife, and educating his children as Catholics, incapacitated him from following his profession. Land and trade had been thrown open to Catholics almost without restrictions, but the Catholic tenant still found himself at a frequent disadvantage, because he had no vote and no influence with those who administered local justice, and the Catholic trader, because he had no voice in the corporations of the towns. Catholics had begun to take a considerable place among the moneyed men of Ireland; but when the Bank of Ireland was founded in 1782, it was specially provided that no Catholics might be enrolled among its directors. Medicine was one of the few professions from which they had never been excluded, and some of them had risen to large practice in it; but even here they were subject to galling distinctions. They were incapacitated from holding any of the three medical professorships on the university establishment, or any of the four professorships at the School of Physic, or the more recently created clinical professorships, and the law, while excluding native Catholics from these professorships, actually ordered that, for three months previous to the nomination to a vacancy in them, invitations should be circulated through Europe, inviting Protestants of all nations to compete for them. Catholic physicians were excluded from all situations on the army establishment, from the offices of State physician or surgeon, and from a crowd of places held under charter, patent, or incorporation; and as they could not take the rank of Fellow in the College of Physicians they were unable to hold any office in that body. The social effects of the code continued with little abatement, though mere theological animosity had almost died away. The political helplessness of the lower orders in their relation with the upper classes had injuriously affected the whole tone of manner, and the few Catholic gentry could not but feel that they were members of an inferior class, living under the stigma and the disqualifications of the law. Most Catholics who had risen to wealth had done so as merchants or cattle-dealers, and the mercantile classes in Ireland had very little social position. The old Catholic gentry lived much apart, and had but small intercourse with the Protestants. The exclusion of Catholics from the bar was in this respect peculiarly mischievous, for of all professions the bar is that which does most to bring men of various religions into close and frequent contact. There were convivial clubs in Ireland, in which it was a by-law that no Papist should be admitted, and Burke, probably, scarcely exaggerated when he asserted that there were thousands of persons of the upper orders in Ireland who had never in their lives conversed with a Catholic, unless they happened to talk to their gardener's workmen, or to ask their way, when they had lost it, in their sports. It was quite evident that such a state of society was thoroughly unnatural and demoralizing, and it was equally evident that it could not possibly be permanent.*

* Vol. vi. p. 474.

This was the first great blot upon the Constitution of 1782. But further, the two Houses of the Irish Parliament were by no means truly representative even of the dominant Protestant minority. "It was a mockery," Mr. Lecky writes, "to describe the Irish House of Commons as mainly a representative body. Of its 300 members, 64 only represented counties, while 100 small boroughs, containing only an infinitesimal number of electors, and in reality in the great majority of cases at the absolute disposal of single patrons, returned no less than 200. Borough seats were commonly sold for £2,000 a parliament, and the permanent patronage of a borough for from £8,000 to £10,000. The Lower House was to a great extent a creation of the Upper one. It was at this time computed that 124 members of the House of Commons were absolutely nominated by 53 peers, while 91 others were chosen by 52 commoners."* To this it may be added that at least 100 members of the Irish House of Commons were Government pensioners. The elder Fitzgibbon—father of the Earl of Clare—said upon one occasion, with equal piquancy and truth: "I have read that the wages of sin is death. Now, the wages of sin is Ireland." As to the Irish House of Lords, Mr. Lecky truly observes: "It was so constituted that it did not possess even a semblance of independence." At one time the Bishops, who were appointed by the Crown, formed a majority of its active members. At other times the constant stream of Ministerial partisans who were poured into it rendered all real opposition an impracticability. "It was chiefly considerable as an assembly of borough-mongers." In 1792 Grattan described the system of Irish administration as "a rank and vile and simple and absolute Government, rendered so by means that make every part of it vicious and abominable." "By the trade of Parliament," he said, "the King is absolute. His will is signified by both Houses of Parliament, who are now as much an instrument in his hand as a bayonet in the hands of a regiment." Mr. Lecky allows all this, and indeed dwells upon it in greater detail than can be reproduced here. But he is careful to state the case on the other side in the following passage:

Not a single fact in this crushing indictment could be seriously disputed. Much was, however, said of the danger of discrediting existing institutions, and much of the necessity of judging all institutions by their fruits. It was admitted that the Irish parliamentary system was rather a system of nomination than of representation. It was admitted, or at least not denied, that little more than a fifth part of the House of Commons was really under popular control, and that an appeal to the people by dissolution was little more than a farce; but it was

* Vol. vi. p. 323.

asserted by the Ministers, and fully acknowledged by the Opposition, that the country had for some years been steadily and rapidly improving; that many popular and beneficial laws had been enacted, and that some of them were of a kind which would hardly have been expected from a selfish oligarchy. The Irish laws against corruption at elections were very severe. The improved method of trying disputed elections, which was the most valuable of the reforms of Grenville, was almost immediately enacted in Ireland. The Irish Parliament readily followed the example of the English one in divesting its members of nearly all their invidious privileges. "Since 1779," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "the Parliament of Ireland has done more for the benefit of the kingdom than all the antecedent Parliaments from the days of Henry VII." and "in this space the country has advanced to a degree of prosperity un hoped for even by the most sanguine." "Under the present state of representation," said the same speaker on another occasion, "the prosperity of the country has increased as much as it could under any other representation whatsoever; and as to liberty, the English Acts, which were adopted at and since 1782, show that the Irish Parliament was as well inclined to the people in that respect as any Parliament could be, in whatsoever manner it might be chosen." In how many countries in Europe, it was asked, was civil and personal liberty as fully guaranteed by law as in Ireland? Since the accession of George III., Ireland had obtained the limitation of her Parliament by the Octennial Act, a free trade, the full participation of commercial intercourse with the British colonies in the West Indies and America, security of personal liberty by the Habeas Corpus Act, the benefit of all English treaties, the independence of the Legislature, the independence of the judges, the restoration of the final judicature. The Test Act had been repealed; the validity of Dissenters' marriages had been fully established; by far the greater part of the penal laws against the Catholics had been abolished, and a crowd of useful laws had been made for developing the resources and improving the condition of the people. A Legislature which could point to such a catalogue of measures enacted within thirty-two years could not be wholly contemptible; and with all its anomalies of representation the Irish House of Commons undoubtedly included a very large proportion of the best ability and knowledge in the community.*

The two great blots, then, upon the Constitution of 1782 were "the outlawry"—the phrase is Burke's—of the great mass of the Irish people, the Catholics, and the exceedingly illusory character of the existing parliamentary institutions. The strenuous efforts of some of the noblest Irishmen were directed to the removal of these blots. Foremost among them stood Grattan. Not indeed that he desired to throw open the Legislature to Catholics. "I am a friend," he declared, as late as

* Vol. vi. p. 520.

1792, "to the liberty of the Roman Catholic, but it is only inasmuch as his liberty is entirely consistent with the Protestant ascendancy and an addition to the strength and freedom of the Protestant community. These being my principles, and the Protestant interest my first object, you may judge that I shall never assent to any measure tending to shake the security of property in this kingdom or to subvert the Protestant ascendancy."* Charlamont and Flood held similar language. Like Grattan, they desired to create popular institutions. But they would have had such institutions wholly Protestant. As a matter of fact all attempts to purify and reform the Irish House of Commons during the ten years from 1782 to 1792 failed mainly through the determined opposition of Fitzgibbon. Let us not be unjust, however, to this highly gifted man. It doubtless appeared to him that corruption was a necessity. He judged—and he was probably right—that only by the maintenance of England's supremacy could the connection between the two nominally equal and independent countries be secured. And the means which he employed to maintain it were probably the only means open to him. However that may be, there can be no question that Sir Lawrence Parsons was right in declaring in 1790, "It has been the object of the English Ministers ever since 1782 to countervail what we obtained at that period; and to substitute a surreptitious and clandestine influence for the open power which the English legislature was then obliged to relinquish." The French Revolution introduced a new element into European politics. The main idea underlying that great movement was that supreme power in every country belongs, by a natural imprescriptible and inalienable right, to the numerical majority of its adult male inhabitants, somewhat oddly designated "citizens." I will not now discuss this singular doctrine. All I need here observe is that in Ireland it took possession of the minds of multitudes, and aroused a feeling before which Fitzgibbon and his colleagues were obliged to give way. In 1793 a measure became law by which the franchise was bestowed on the great bulk of the Irish Catholics, but without the power of sitting in Parliament. This Act, Mr. Lecky writes, "swept away the few remaining disabilities relating to property which grew out of the penal code. It enabled Catholics to vote like Protestants for members of Parliament and magistrates in cities or boroughs; to become elected members of all corporations except Trinity College; to keep arms subject to some specified conditions; to hold all civil and military offices in the kingdom from which they were not

* "Miscellaneous Works," p. 289.

specifically excluded ; to hold the medical professorships on the foundation of Sir Patrick Dun ; to take degrees and hold offices in any mixed college connected with the University of Dublin that might hereafter be founded. It also threw open to them the degrees of the University, enabling the King to alter its statutes to that effect. A long clause enumerated the prizes which were still withheld. Catholics might not sit in either House of Parliament ; they were excluded from almost all government and judicial positions ; they could not be Privy Councillors, King's Counsel, Fellows of Trinity College, sheriffs or sub-sheriffs, or generals of the staff. Nearly every post of ambition was still reserved for Protestants, and the restrictions weighed most heavily on the Catholics who were most educated and most able." * It is manifest that such a measure could not be regarded as a settlement for the Irish question. It was, on the very face of it, incomplete and provisional : an instalment, merely, of justice. " If," says Mr. Lecky, " the Catholic question had been settled in 1793, the whole subsequent history of Ireland would probably have been changed. The rebellion of 1798 would, almost certainly, either never have taken place, or would have been confined to an insignificant disturbance in the north, and the social and political convulsions which were produced by the agitations of the present century might have been wholly, or in great measure, averted." †

I observed just now that the chief enemy of the two principal reforms obviously necessary to render the Constitution of 1782 a reality was Fitzgibbon. Let me say a word or two more regarding this eminent person, unquestionably one of the most striking figures in all Irish history. Mr. Froude has done him the questionable service of adopting him as a hero. As a matter of fact, he appears to have been a man of clear, if somewhat narrow, intellectual vision, of unflinching courage, and of indomitable will. Although the son of an apostate from the Catholic religion, I doubt if he was greatly animated by theological animosity in his life-long opposition to Catholic claims. I incline to believe that he supposed himself to be speaking the truth when, upon a famous occasion, he declared that he had not a spark of religious bigotry in his composition. His dislike of Catholicism appears to have been mainly political. He was of Lord Westmoreland's opinion, that " the frame of the Irish Government is a Protestant garrison (in the words of Mr. Burke) in possession of the law, magistracy, and power of the country, holding that property under the tenure of British power and supremacy, and ready at any instant to crush the rising of the conquered." It

* Vol. vi. p. 587.† *Ibid.* p. 575.

appeared to him that nothing was more inexpedient than, in any way, to weaken the power of that garrison. And that such was the inevitable tendency of the proposals for reform, whether by removing the disabilities of Catholics, or by giving a more popular character to the Legislature, he saw clearly enough. Again, it must never be forgotten that the position of the statesmen responsible for the government of Ireland from 1782 to 1792 was one of the gravest difficulty. The Constitution was largely the result of that ineradicable passion of nationality which is so strongly marked a characteristic of the inhabitants of Ireland. It expressed but it did not gratify that passion.

"Boast of the prosperity of your country as you may," Sir Lawrence Parsons told the Irish House of Commons in 1790, "and after all, I ask, what is it but a secondary kingdom? An inferior member of a great empire, without any movement or orbit of its own? . . . We may pride ourselves that we are a great kingdom, but the fact is that we are scarcely known beyond the boundaries of our shores. Who out of Ireland ever hears of Ireland? What name have we among the nations of the earth? Who fears us? Who respects us? Where are our ambassadors? What treaties do we enter into? With what nation do we make peace or declare war? Are we not a mere cipher in all these, and are not these what give a nation consequence and fame? All these are sacrificed to the connection with England. . . . A suburb to England, we are sunk in her shade. True, we are an independent kingdom; we have an imperial crown distinct from England; but it is a metaphysical distinction, a mere sport for speculative men."

The concessions embodied in the Constitution of 1782 included, theoretically, as the orator went on to remark, everything short of separation. Could the theory be reduced to practice without necessarily leading to separation? Fitzgibbon was of opinion that it could not. And greater men than Fitzgibbon thought so too. It is clear from some highly important State papers which Mr. Lecky has been fortunate enough to bring to light, that so early as 1792 Pitt regarded the Constitution of 1782 as provisional and unworkable. "They must look," he wrote, "to some permanent system." "The idea," he wrote to Lord Westmoreland [of a legislative union], "has long been in my mind. I hardly dare flatter myself with the hope of its taking place; but I believe it, though in itself not easy to accomplish, to be the only solution of other and greater difficulties." The idea, indeed, was not a new one. As early as 1783 the Duke of Richmond had declared in Parliament that the danger of the situation in Ireland could be met only by "an incorporate union." Nay, eighty years earlier—in 1704—the Irish Parliament had expressly petitioned for such a union, and their petition had been rejected from most unworthy motives.

And now, turning from the past to the present, let us glance at some of the chief lessons deducible from the chapter of Irish history at which we have been glancing. One of them, according to Mr. Lecky, is as follows :—

To an historian of the eighteenth century few things can be more grotesquely absurd than to suppose that the merits or demerits, the failure or the success of the old Irish Parliament has any real bearing on modern schemes for reconstructing the government of Ireland on a revolutionary and Jacobin basis; entrusting the protection of property and the maintenance of law to some democratic assembly, consisting mainly of Fenians and Land Leaguers, of paid agitators and of penniless adventurers. The parliamentary system of the eighteenth century might be represented in very different lights by its enemies and by its friends. Its enemies would describe it as essentially government carried on through the instrumentality of a corrupt oligarchy; of a large, compact body of members holding places and pensions at the pleasure of the Government, and removed by the system of rotten boroughs from all effectual popular control. Its friends would describe it as essentially the government of Ireland by the gentlemen of Ireland, and especially by its landlord class. Neither representation would be strictly true, but each contains a large measure of truth. The nature of the Irish constituencies and the presence in the House of Commons of a body of pensioners and placemen, forming considerably more than a third of the whole assembly and nearly half of its active members, gave the Government a power which, except under very rare and extraordinary circumstances, must, if fully exerted, have been overwhelming. The system of corruption was largely extended after the Regency controversy, and it produced evils that it is difficult to overrate. It enabled a small oligarchy to resist the most earnest and most legitimate demands of Irish opinion, and, as Grattan vainly predicted, it taught the people to look elsewhere for their representatives, and exposed them to the fatal contagion of the revolutionary spirit that was then circulating through Europe. On the other hand, the Irish Parliament was a body consisting very largely of independent country gentlemen, who, on nearly all questions affecting the economical and industrial development of the country, had a powerful if not a decisive influence. The lines of party were but faintly drawn. Most questions were settled by mutual compromise or general concurrence, and it was in reality only in a small class of political questions that the corrupt power of Government seems to have been strained. The Irish House of Commons consisted mainly of the class of men who now form the Irish grand juries. It comprised the flower of the landlord class. It was essentially and pre-eminently the representative of the property of the country. It had all the instincts and the prejudices, but also all the qualities and the capacities of an educated propertied class, and it brought great local knowledge and experience to its task. Most of its work was of that practical and unobtrusive character which leaves no trace in history. Several useful laws were made to rectify the scandalous abuses of Irish prisons, to improve the condition of insol-

vent debtors, to prevent burials in churches, to establish hospitals and infirmaries, to check different kinds of disorder as they arose, to make harbours and canals, to encourage local institutions and industries; and, except during the conflict on the Regency question, the parliamentary machine had hitherto moved on with very little friction or disturbance.*

The mere perusal of this passage is sufficient to show how entirely the conditions of the Irish question have changed. The Constitution of 1782 vested power in the hands of the territorial aristocracy of Ireland. The men who composed the two Houses of the Irish Parliament a century ago, professed the English form of the Protestant religion, were largely of English extraction, and owed their possessions chiefly to English confiscations. In the contemporary Home Rule movement the landlord class has simply no place. It is essentially a movement of Celtic peasants, deeply—a Protestant would say bigotedly—attached to the Catholic faith, animated—who shall say unreasonably?—by race hatred, which centuries of ruthless persecution have burnt into their blood and bones, and hungering for the land whence the sword of the "Saxon" conqueror drove their forefathers. "Do you think," asked Sir Lawrence Parsons, in his masterly speech on the Catholic question in 1793, "do you think that you will meliorate the Constitution by introducing into it such a copious adulteration of the rabble?" But by the last Reform Act the power of determining Parliamentary elections has passed entirely into the hands of the portion of the community thus contemptuously designated. Grattan held it "essential to the safe working of representative institutions in Ireland that they should be under the full guidance and control of the property of the country, and that the greatest of all calamities would be that their guidance should pass into the hands of adventurers and demagogues." And upon a memorable occasion, after inveighing, with all the power of his majestic eloquence, against "the disconnection of political authority in Ireland from wealth and property," he added the significant caution: "If you transfer the power in the State to those who have nothing in the country, they will afterwards transfer the property. . . . Of such a representation the first ordinance would be robbery, accompanied with the circumstance incidental to robbery—murder."

But if it is important to note this great difference between the conditions of the Irish question a century ago and now, it is no less important to apprehend that the essential character of Irish patriotism is absolutely unchanged. If there is any one fact which stands out clearly in the history of the Constitution of 1782, it is the intensity of the national spirit which existed in all

* Vol. vi. p. 442.

classes of Irishmen. "Ireland a nation" was the brief but pregnant formula which then expressed the most cherished aspiration of Hibernian patriotism. "Ireland a nation" is now, as we all know, the most popular theme of the orators of the present Home Rule party, from Mr. Parnell down to Dr. Tanner. The dominant idea of these gentlemen, if there be any meaning in words, is Irish autonomy. There lies before me, as I write, a catena from their speeches, in which this is avowed with entire openness and straightforwardness. They, at all events, do not impose upon us with any *picte tectoria linguæ*. And their frankness and honesty are worthy of respect. To me, one of the most disheartening and humiliating signs of the times is the judicial blindness which appears to have fallen upon so many leading Englishmen, and which, as it would seem, prevents them from discerning what—even apart from these candid avowals—is patent to all men, elsewhere, throughout the civilized world. As though the facts were in the least altered by declining to look them in the face; as though any quantity of parliamentary rhetoric and rigmarole could transmute the thing that is not into the thing that is. I confess my patience fails me when I hear the grievances of Ireland lightly dismissed as sentimental, traditional, race grievances. Even if that were an entirely correct account of them—which it is not—such grievances are much deeper and much more enduring sources of enmity than personal injuries. They are "portions and parcels of the dreadful past," which is the sad inheritance of the Irish peasantry. "A debt accumulated through seven centuries," it has been well said. Yes, and at compound interest. The Celtic people of Ireland feel that the English connection is what one of their most authoritative writers called it three centuries ago: "grave jugum sub quo tota natio ingemiscit." "None of us," said Mr. Parnell in his famous Cincinnati speech*—"none of us, whether we are in America or Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England." And similarly, in a more recent oration:† "Speaking for myself, and I believe for the Irish people and for all my colleagues in Parliament, I have to declare that we will never accept, either expressly or impliedly, anything but the full and complete right to arrange our own affairs, to make our land a nation, to secure for her, free from outside control, the right to direct her own course amongst the peoples of the world."

So much must suffice upon this most momentous subject. Let

* Delivered at Cincinnati on Feb. 23, 1880, and reported in the *Irish World*.

† Delivered at Mayo on the 5th of November 1885, and reported in *United Ireland*.

me conclude by presenting to my readers Mr. Lecky's reflections upon the essentials of good government in Ireland.

The problem before the Irish Parliament [under the Constitution of 1782] would, under the most favourable circumstances, have been an extremely difficult one, and most analogies drawn from purely English experience, and especially from later English experience, only tend to mislead. The goodness of laws and political institutions is essentially relative, depending upon their adaptation to the character, circumstances, wants, and traditions of the people for whom they are intended; and in all these respects England and Ireland were wholly different. There is no greater delusion than to suppose that the same degree of popular government can be wisely accorded to nations in all stages of development, and that a country in a backward stage is really benefited by a servile imitation of the institutions of its more advanced neighbours. A country where the traditions of many peaceful centuries have knitted the various elements of national being into a happy unity, where there is no disaffection to the Crown or the Government, where the relations of classes are normal and healthy, where the influence of property is unbroken, and where those who are incapable of judging for themselves find natural leaders of character and intelligence everywhere at their head, can easily bear an amount of democracy which must bring utter ruin upon a country torn by sedition, religious animosities, and agrarian war, and in which all the natural ligatures of society have been weakened or disjointed. An amount of democracy which in one country leaves the main direction of affairs in the hands of property and intelligence, in another country virtually disfranchises both, and establishes a system of legalized plunder by transferring all controlling authority to an ignorant and excitable peasantry, guided and duped by demagogues, place-hunters, and knaves. A system of criminal law and of criminal procedure which is admirably adapted for a country where crime is nothing more than the outbreak of isolated bad passions, and where every man's hand is against the criminal, must fail to fulfil the first purposes of justice, if it is applied without modification to a country where large classes of crime are looked upon by great masses of the population as acts of war, where jurymen will acquit in the face of the clearest evidence, and where known criminals may live in security under the shelter of popular connivance or popular intimidation. In a rich country, in which many generations of uninterrupted prosperity have raised the industrial spirit to the highest point, in which energy and self-reliance are almost redundantly displayed, and in which the middle-class is the strongest power in the State, nearly all industrial enterprises may be safely left to the unassisted action of private individuals. It is not so in a very poor country, where the middle-class is small and feeble, and where a long train of depressing circumstances have reduced the industrial spirit to the lowest ebb. Perhaps the worst consequence of the legislative union has been the tendency it produces to measure Irish legislation by English wants and experience, and to force Ireland into a plane of democracy for which all who have any

real knowledge of its circumstances must know that it is wholly unfitted. Very different conditions require very different types of administration, and, in Ireland, the elements of self-government lie, and always have lain, within a higher plane and a more restricted circle than in England, and the relations of classes and the conditions of opinion are incomparably less favourable to popular institutions. A stronger and firmer executive, a more restricted suffrage, a greater concentration of power, a more constant intervention of Government, both in the way of assistance and initiative, and in the way of restriction and control, is imperatively required.*

W. S. LILLY.

ART. V.—THE JEWS IN FRANCE.

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6. *La Juiverie*. Par G. DE PASCAL. Avec une Lettre. Préface par EDOUARD DRUMONT. Paris: Librairie Blériot. 1887.
7. *La Russie Juive*. Par KALIXT DE WOLSKI. Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Parisienne. Albert Savine, Editeur. 1887.
8. *L'Algérie Juive*. Par GEORGE MEYNIÉ. Deuxième Edition. Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Parisienne. Albert Savine, Editeur. 1887.

THERE are few questions on which the spirit of the age is so sensitive as upon the "persecution of the Jews." No sooner is any attempt made, either in Berlin or in Bucharest, in Tunis or St. Petersburg, to repress the rapacity of the Jews,

and to circumscribe their power of oppressing others, than a cry of horror and dismay is raised from all parts of the civilized world; the statesman and the orator, the noble and the exalted in every country deem it their duty to appear on the public platform, and to protest in the name of enlightenment, of liberty, of tolerance, of Christian charity and of humanity, against the ill-treatment which these poor Hebrews are being subjected to. Nothing can equal the general sympathy which their distress calls forth from all sides, except, perhaps, the apathy and cold indifference with which the humanitarians look on when real atrocities are perpetrated upon their fellow-Christians. Three hundred thousand Catholics are massacred in China and Touquin; priests and nuns are thrown out of their own houses, hunted and persecuted in France, the Catholics are outlawed in their own country; feeble old men, poor dying women, helpless children, are thrown homeless and destitute upon the hillsides of Ireland, to live or die, as best they can, in the snow and winter blast, whilst the roof which had sheltered them and their fathers before them is set on fire or levelled to the ground, in the name of the law, and scarcely any notice is taken of these horrors. What is stranger still, even when the Jews are caught red-handed in the act of persecuting Christians, outraging religion, and undermining society, and their evil deeds are being exposed before the tribunal of public opinion—even then, we find this same excessive tenderness and mawkish sentimentality breaking forth in some places. To raise an outcry against any individuals independently of their deeds, simply because they happen to be of a particular race, creed, or country is most censurable, and may, according to circumstances, be even criminal; but when specific charges are brought against a class of men, and these charges are supported by authenticated facts, these individuals cannot shelter themselves behind a name, or take advantage of a prejudice existing in their favour. The public have a right to examine on their own merits the charges and the facts on which it is sought to establish them. This is what it is purposed here to do regarding the Jews in France and M. Drumont's book; and I shall endeavour to do so with impartiality.

It is well, perhaps, to state at the very outset that M. Drumont is a Catholic, a Frenchman, and by profession a journalist, but independent of any of the political parties which divide France just now. He was for some time employed in the "Bureaux de la Préfecture de la Seine," but finding office work too dull, he became connected with the Press. After serving for some time on the staff of the *Liberté* and other papers, he joined the *Monde*. In his capacity of journalist and reporter he had

exceptional opportunities for gathering the information required to write such a book as "*La France Juive*." He has succeeded in giving to the public a most fascinating book; a book evidently written by a man who is in earnest, and who feels strongly on his subject. Juvenal's "*facit indignatio versum*" was never better illustrated. There runs through every page, from the first to the last, a fire which is most captivating. In its arrangement the book lacks, perhaps, here and there logical order; it seems rather a collection of "jottings by the way" than a systematic treatise. But the interest of the book is so great, the revelations one meets at almost every page are so startling, that one hardly notices the want of connection between the different parts of the work. Now and then, M. Drumont gives a strained interpretation to some verses of the Psalms and other passages of the Scriptures; and to suit his purpose he makes perhaps a little free in the application of them, but there is nothing absolutely shocking or irreverent in the use he makes of his texts. To our mind he seems too indiscriminating in his prejudice against the converts from Judaism. He has met, in the course of his investigations, so many impostors and sham converts from Judaism that he seems inclined to think that the dose of original sin in a Jew must be more than double; he requires the baptism of five previous generations before he considers the original stain fully washed out in the Christian descendants from Judaism, and before he would have in them the same confidence he is prepared to give to an ordinary Christian. He forgets that if there has been a Mgr. Bauer, and other scoundrels who, for their own base purposes, have received baptism because it was expected to pay, there has been an Alphonse Ratisbonne, a Théodore Ratisbonne, a Chevalier Drach, and others, whose sincerity no one ever questioned; he forgets that the venerable Libermann, the saintly Superior-General of the Missionary Society of the Holy Ghost, upon whose virtues and sanctity the Church has pronounced her verdict,* was a convert from Judaism. With the exception of these few minor points, I have nothing but the most unqualified commendation for the author.

What a revelation his book has been to the world at large! It appeared to French society, as M. de Biez expresses it, like a most brilliant beacon, suddenly lit up in the midst of a dense fog. It fell upon Parisian society like a bombshell, or a bolt from the blue sky. No one was prepared for it; Jew and Gentile were alike astounded at the suddenness of the

* See "*Life of the Venerable Paul Mary Francis Libermann*," by Rev. Prosper Goeppfert, C.S.Sp. "*Vie du Vénérable Père Libermann*," par le Cardinal Pitra. Deuxième Edition. 1872.

blow and the boldness of the attack. It required no little courage to conceive and carry out such a work as this, under the circumstances in which the author was placed. Without a patron, unaided by any political party, with no other support but the truth of his cause, he entered upon a direct open attack on the most formidable power in Europe, a power before which even kings have capitulated—the power of the money-bags. It was but natural that he should have for a moment felt some misgivings about the wisdom of his undertaking. But if, like Napoleon's greatest general, Ney, "the bravest of the brave," he felt a shivering just before the battle, he has, like him, jumped into the saddle and dashed fearlessly into the midst of the fray, without once looking behind him. He tells us in the sequel to his two volumes "*La France Juive* devant l'opinion," that when his publisher came to him with the first copy of his book and asked him: "What about the lawsuits?" he looked with tearful eyes at his wife and children, at the furniture of his rooms, and felt his blood run cold; but kneeling down on his study floor, he addressed a fervent prayer to the God of his fathers, after which, resolving to do and dare, he exclaimed, "in God's name"—"*A Dieu vat*," as the Breton fisherman says, when loosing the moorings of his smack, he makes for the open sea.

If we are to judge by the results, the prayer has been heard. The success has been enormous, unparalleled. "*La France Juive*" has been, and is still, the book of the season, the talk of every one. In a few months 160 editions and more than 300,000 copies were sold, in spite of the opposition raised against it. All the influence at their command was used by the Jews to obstruct the free sale and circulation of it. Not a copy could be had at any French railway station. Messrs. Hachette & Co., who enjoy in France the monopoly of the railway book-stalls, as Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son do in Great Britain, would not be allowed to expose it for sale, although the most objectionable literature is freely supplied. The booksellers in many a provincial town, where the Jews are strong and the booksellers probably under "obligation" to them, dare not put the book on their counters for sale; but the demand for it being very general, they sell it underhand like smuggled goods.

We are by no means surprised to hear that the Jews, either of France or any other country, do not relish M. Drumont's book; and that other people besides the Jews may possibly object to it. It is a most formidable and crushing indictment, not only of the Jews in France, but of the present French Government and of Parisian society as well. The author says boldly and fearlessly whatever he has to say, without respect of persons, caring but

little on whom his censure may fall, once he has satisfied himself that the censure is deserved and called for.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, he seems to have done his work conscientiously. If the facts he gives are strong, the charges he makes damning, he is most careful to supply chapter and verse. He has purposely abstained from entering upon matters that reached him from private sources, how much soever they would have been to his purpose. "I could have gone behind the scenes," he tells us, "to see and speak of what is hidden to the lay public; the invitations I received were many and pressing; but I had taken my place in the pit, in front of the foot-lights, and there I resolved to remain." When it became known that he was collecting materials for his book, and especially since he has published it, he received communications from the most unexpected quarters, offering to give him information on the scandalous misdoings of sundry Jews. The victims of their rapacity, having been unable to find any redress against their persecutors, cherished the hope that in M. Drumont they would find an avenger of their private wrongs. But he has invariably declined making use of any such information. He claims to have introduced in his work nothing which had not already been before the public in some way or other. The facts are taken either from Jewish sources, such as the *Bulletin de l'Alliance Universelle*, "*Etudes Juives*," *l'Univers Israélite*, The Talmud, "*Archives Israélites*," and other works not usually in the hands of the Gentiles; or they were buried in the public records, like our Blue-Books, which few people care to read; or they appeared isolated, and had thus failed to strike the public mind, or if they did, they were soon forgotten, and failed to create the extraordinary sensation which he has produced by collecting all these facts, binding them together, showing their relation to one another, their unity of aim and purpose, and making it clear to all the world that they are the result of a vast conspiracy against Christian society. He has accumulated so many striking proofs to this effect, that no impartial thoughtful reader can help exclaiming with the Republican Jacques de Biez, "*Le Juif, voilà l'ennemi*." He shows France degraded, ruined financially, politically and morally, by the Jews. He supplies the names of the chief actors, and their respective share in the unholy work. His cry of alarm has not been unheeded. He has evidently stirred the country's heart to its very depths. Since "*La France Juive*," with its appendix, "*La France Juive devant l'opinion*," has appeared, there has been formed an "*Alliance Anti-Israélite Universelle*;" a newspaper has been started with the object of promoting the expulsion of the Jews from France; the Jewish question has become a plank in the political platform, it is carried to the

hustings, and no candidate for Parliamentary honours in France can henceforth afford to omit the question from his programme.

The object of M. Drumont is to bring his readers face to face with the Jew as he really is. He proves, both by the public records and the Jews' own words, not only what they are aiming at, and have for centuries been aiming at, the means they command and employ for carrying out their plans, but he exposes in the full glare of daylight what the Jews have done and are doing in France in furtherance of their nefarious object.

Many whose way of life does not, fortunately for themselves, bring them much in contact with the Jews, and who know them but by report, fancy that they are a harmless, inoffensive, and much ill-used people, whose only object in life is to make money. They buy our old clothes, old pictures, and old furniture—which is rather a convenience for the community; they sell eye-glasses, and traffic in other commodities, but there is no offence in that; they carry on a little usury, but that is the fault of those who borrow money from them as much as theirs; some of them have made princely fortunes, but that is their luck, or their merit. Upon such readers Drumont's book will come as a surprise.

I. Aim and Object of the Jews.

There lives not a Jew, M. Drumont tells us, whether he has given up the exterior practices of his religion or not, whether he professes to be a sceptic or a freethinker, who does not firmly believe that he belongs to a superior race, the destiny of which is to rule over all the races of mankind, and to become the arbiter of all the other nations. They say that if they are scattered over the surface of the whole earth, it is because the whole earth is to be their possession. Their recognized official organs, such as the *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, the "Archives Israélites," and others, openly tell us: "We are the superior race, the world belongs to us, we shall and must be the masters of the world." The faith in this destiny is not of to-day nor of yesterday—it has never forsaken the Jew. When Titus destroyed Jerusalem and dispersed the twelve tribes, they carried this faith with them in their restless wanderings through the world.

St. Jerome, who knew the Jewish doctrines and traditions well, speaking of the dream of Nabuchodonozor and the little stone, which, rolling from the mountain top, is to break the statue of Nabuchodonozor, says, "The Jews explain this passage in their favour, and refuse to see in the stone an emblem of Christ. In their opinion this stone signifies the people of Israel, suddenly grown sufficiently strong to overthrow all the kingdoms of the

earth, and to found on their ruins the empire of Judah!"* The faith in this glorious destiny has given the Jews that dogged perseverance, that irrepressible constancy which has carried them through centuries of hardships. The belief in this advent is most fully set forth in the "*Kabbala Denudata*," or "*Tradition Unveiled*"—a Jewish work, printed by a Jewish publisher† in the seventeenth century—in which we read the following most explicit pronouncement:

And all the princes shall serve Israel, and the nations of the earth how numerous soever they may be on the surface of the globe, will be the servants of Israel. They will be subject to no other influence but that of the Church of Israel, which will be their Queen and Mistress; from her they shall receive their sustenance, they will feed on the crumbs of her table, and on what will have been left after all the children of Israel, to the very last, will have eaten and sated themselves. All principalities will then be subject to Israel. The kings will accept her yoke willingly, serve her all the days of their life, and carry out all her behests. All the nations will lick the dust off her feet.

The Talmud, which has been substituted by them for the Bible, as the code of their religious belief as well as of their morality, tells them that they have an inalienable right to the property of the Goyim (Christians); it is therefore lawful to rob and deceive them in every possible way. The promise was made to Abraham, their father, that his seed shall possess the earth. The Goyim have consequently no right to possess any portion of it; they are simply usurpers. It is lawful, even meritorious, to kill even the best of the Goyim. A Jew accused of the murder of a mere Goy is not guilty of blood and cannot be punished. Any three Jews can free another Jew of any promise, oath, contract he may have made or *is going* to make within the year to any Christian. They call that the "*Kol-Nidrai*."‡

The law of Moses which says, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour," "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, nor anything that is his," "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not steal," is not binding on them, they say, except in their dealings with orthodox Jews. Mere Gentiles cannot be considered as their neighbours, any more than the brute (these are the very expressions of the Talmud). Social relations become absolutely impossible with people whose actions are

* Drach, "*L'Eglise et la Synagogue*," p. 18.

† "*Kabbala Denudata*." Sulzbaci: Abrahami Lichtenthaleri. 1677.

‡ Drach, "*Harmonie entre l'Eglise et la Synagogue*." Lettre deuxième, p. 82.

guided by principles of morality which are subversive of the code of ethics which obtains among civilized nations. It is in the Talmud and its teaching that we must look for the cause of the antagonism and dislike which the Christians of every country in all ages entertained towards the Jews. It is usual to attribute to ignorance, superstition, and religious bigotry the exceptional condition to which the Jews were subject in the Middle Ages ; but is not the instinct of self-preservation in Christian nations of itself sufficient to account for the rough treatment given to people who carried out against their fellow-men such a programme as is detailed in the Talmud ?

A High Chancellor of France in the eighteenth century called that Talmud and the Jew trained by it "the monster of civil society." Goschler, a convert from Judaism, says : "The Talmud has at all times fostered the most anti-social doctrines, and inspired in every Hebrew the fiercest hatred against Christians." Pfefferkorn, another convert from Judaism, says : "You would in vain look for a more dishonest and more dangerous sect, or one more fatal to the Christian nations, than the Jewish sect. Day and night these men are devising means to destroy and upset the power of the Christians."*

The Rabbis who were brought before St. Louis, King of France, to give an account of their doctrines and practices, confessed that the Talmud requires the Jews to pronounce every morning curses and imprecations against the Catholic Church, her ministers, the Catholic kings, and all the enemies of Israel. The Catholic Church is considered by them as their great enemy, the great obstacle to the realization of their hopes, and the promises made to Abraham. Even such freethinkers among the Jews as James Darmesteter, call Christianity or Catholicism "a Jewish heresy which has for eighteen centuries impeded the intellectual development of Europe." They think, therefore, that they are justified in entertaining against the Church the fiercest hatred, in seeking by open and secret persecution to undermine her influence. Everywhere they band themselves with her avowed enemies. Whenever they see the Church humbled and down-trodden their exultation and insolence knows no bounds. The *Univers Israélite* says :

The sons of progress and enlightenment have now little more to do than to push with their foot this worm-eaten Church ; the day of her ruin can be easily foreseen. Every Israelite must feel the desire to hasten on that day and to co-operate in a work in which their most sacred interests are at stake.†

* Pfefferkorn. "Die Kirche und die Synagoge."

† *L'Univers Israélite*, 1867. vol. x. p. 223

There can be no doubt about the aim and purpose of the Jewish race; it is here clearly established that the consummation they all wish for is the ruin and breaking up of Christian society, the conquest of the world, and the triumph of Israel.

II. *Instruments for Carrying out that Object.*

1. If their aspirations are high and their ambition unlimited, the means they command to carry them out are equal to their designs. From one end of the world to the other the Jews are bound together by the strongest ties of solidarity and brotherhood. There is no distinction between rich and poor; they may deal in old clothes or be the kings of the Stock Exchange, they are all members of the same family. Through the "Alliance Israélite Universelle," with a central committee in Paris and local committees in every country in the world, they are overspreading the whole universe like a sort of Freemasonry. M. Crémieux, who was the head centre of this "Alliance Universelle," called it "the most beautiful and most fertile institution the world has ever seen. No more powerful instrument of domination could be devised—the whole world is subject to its rule." So it certainly seems to be, if we are to judge from the results given by M. Drumont. It embraces all the Jews, even those who may have renounced their religion. They are all acting in concert and follow, through various means and different ways, a deeply laid plan. Whether in France or in China, in Melbourne or in London, their aim and object is the same—the triumph of Israel and the destruction of Christian society. Whether he uses his talents as a conspirator, or his peculiar aptitude for the treachery of the spy, whether by the manœuvring of the Hebrew ring on the money market, the Jew robs the Christians of their wealth, or by the teaching of the school, the University, and the Press, he robs the people of their faith, his object is one and the same—the ruin and destruction of Christian society. In their war against the Catholic Church they are aided by all those who with them curse Christ and His Church, by those who are in rebellion, open or secret, against legitimate authority, by all the outcasts who, like themselves, are watching for their opportunity for destroying existing institutions; they find especially faithful and willing allies in the members of the secret societies, foremost among whom are the Freemasons.

2. Freemasonry is one of the many, and certainly one of the most powerful, engines they have invented for their war against Christian society. For masonry is the offspring of the Synagogue. The Freemasons owe their origin to the Jews—so the Abbé Davin proved; so the "Révélations complètes sur la Franc-maçonnerie," by Leo Taxil, one of their adepts, whose conver-

sion two years ago produced such a sensation, would give us to understand. How could we otherwise explain the flavour of Hebraism which pervades the whole Masonic ritual? What could the construction of the Temple of Solomon, the Ark of the Covenant, the Candlestick with the seven branches have to do with the acknowledged objects of Freemasonry? Everything in their organization seems to point to a Hebrew origin. The Hebrew and Masonic almanacks are nearly the same; both begin their year in March; the names of the Masonic months are the very names used by the Hebrews: Adar, Veadar, Nissan, Iyar, Sivan, Tammouz, Ab, Eloul, Tischri, Heschvan, Kislev, Tebeth, and Shebat. The acacia—so dear to Masons, as their rallying sign, the leaves of which adorn their button-holes on all festive occasions—is but the mystic shittah, shittim, the setim-wood, sacred among Hebrews, of which Moses in Exodus orders that the Tabernacle, the Ark of the Covenant, the Table, the Bars, and many of the utensils used in the Temple, should be made. Their passwords are Hebrew. We find the same traces of Jewish origin in the Masonic sisters' ritual, where Judith, Jacob's ladder, Eva, Noah's Ark, Mount Ararat, &c., are in great requisition. A most remarkable feature in all the quotations from the Bible, and allusions to it, which we find everywhere in the Masonic ceremonial, is that they are all from the Old Testament, the New Testament is altogether ignored as if it did not exist. This certainly betrays a Jewish tendency. The only reference we find to the New Testament is their abominable parody of the sacraments of the Catholic Church, especially the Last Supper and the Most Blessed Eucharist.

The most rabid members of the craft, those who parade everywhere their hatred of the Catholic religion, such as "Nubius" and his worthy confederate "Piccolo Tigre," are Jews. Adam Weishaupt, the founder of Illuminism, the worst and most aggressive form of Freemasonry, was a Jew; Paschalis, a Portuguese Jew, is the founder of the Lyons Lodge of "Illuminés." It is a well-known fact, related by many authors who have written on Freemasonry, conspicuous among them the famous Eliphaz Levy,* that of the nine members who constitute the Supreme Council of Freemasonry, and direct the movements of the craft all the world over, at least five must be Jews. Alban Stolz, in his work on Freemasonry,† says the most imminent danger for the altar and the throne in our modern days comes from the power which the Jews have acquired by means of Freemasonry.

* Eliphaz Levy. "Histoire de la Magie."

† "Mörtel für die Freimaurer." Alban Stolz.

These Freemasons seem to be as cosmopolitan and unpatriotic as their confederates the Jews themselves. Here, for instance, is the Agenda paper issued by the Lodge of Vincennes on the 24th of August 1886, for a meeting to be held on the 3rd of September following: "To consider the reasons why France, especially the Freemasons of France, should desire that Germany should retain Alsace and Lorraine." Their most authorized orators tell us that "a Freemason should be ready to disown his own country." They are not less emphatic on the part played by Freemasonry in the war against established institutions. Henri Martin calls Freemasonry "the Laboratory of Revolution;" Félix Pyat, "the Church of the Revolution." Freemasons have taken an active part in all political struggles. Another says, in rather expressive if somewhat mixed metaphors, "Freemasonry is a Colossus with a thousand heads, with a hundred hands, which throws its affiliations like a huge net over the whole country so as to prepare the needed social reforms."

The Jews and Freemasons work at all events in perfect harmony, oppressing the poor, persecuting Catholics in every shape and form, corrupting society, pillaging, ruining, degrading France.

3. The Jew, says the Hebrew Darmesteter,* knows better than any one else the vulnerable points of the Church. In the discovery of them he is guided by his knowledge of the Scriptures, and the instinct of the oppressed. He is the teacher of the unbeliever; all the rebels of the intellect turn to him either openly or in the dark. He is the chief artisan in the immense workshop of blasphemy of the great Emperor Frederick, of the princes of Swabia and of Aragon. It is the Jew who forges that murderous arsenal of irony, of sarcasm, of argument which he will hand over to the sceptics of the Renaissance and the libertines of the eighteenth century; and the biting sarcasm of Voltaire is but the last reverberating echo of the word whispered six centuries before in the darkness of the Ghetto—ay, even sooner, at the very beginning of the religion of Christ in the time of Celsus.

Renan, so favourable to the Jews, tells us† "that Raschi (the celebrated rabbi, Solomon), and the Tosaphites (or Talmudists), made Nicholas de Lire, and Nicholas de Lire made Luther." Spinoza, as every one knows, was a Jew. Malo, in his "History of the Jews," accounting for the weakness the Jews have for revolutions of all kinds, says: "They look upon the revolutions which agitate the world as the forerunners of their freedom and

* "Coup d'œil sur l'Histoire du Peuple Juif." Darmesteter.

† "La France Littéraire," tome xxvi.

triumph. Everywhere revolutions and political catastrophes are the hope of the orthodox Jews.*

"Every war, every revolution, every political or religious commotion in the Christian community will bring us nearer to the supreme end which is the object of our wishes," says one of their Rabbis. *L'Univers Israélite* for 1866 (vol. iii. p. 129), speaking of the Reformation and the French Revolution, which seem to the Jews kindred movements, says: "The Israelite would be very ungrateful if he did not recognize what he owes to the movement which for more than three centuries has been shaking, and for eighty years has upset, the old state of Society." Cerfbeer de Medelsheim, who is of Jewish descent, says: "Their disastrous influence is felt especially in matters which affect the fortunes of every country; there is not an important enterprise in which the Jews have not the lion's share, no public loan which they do not monopolize, no disaster which is not of their brewing, and by which they do not make large profits."†

In a remarkable article published in the July number, 1884, of the German review, *Vom Fels Zum Meere*, Marshal Moltke describes the anti-social part played by the Jews in Poland, and the share they had in the ruin of that unhappy country. Michelet, whom nobody will accuse of bigotry or of clericalism, says in his "History of France": "The Jews, a living image of the East in the midst of Christendom, seemed planted there to foster animosities. They were said to correspond in seasons of political catastrophes with the infidels, and to invite them to invasion."

On the 20th of June, 1869, there was held in Leipzig a general assembly of Jewish representatives from all the countries of Europe; in that synod a motion was proposed by Dr. Philipson Boun, seconded by the Belgian Chief Rabbi, Astruc, and carried by acclamation to the following effect: "The Synod recognizes that the development and realization of modern principles are the surest guarantees for the present and the future of Judaism and of its members, these principles are the most energetic factors towards the existence, vitality, expansion, and highest development of Judaism."

What are these modern principles but infidelity, scepticism, religious indifference, which, whilst they ruin Christian nations, are the surest guarantee for the triumph of the Jews. Renan says: "The Jew forms invariably a capital element in every conspiracy and in every revolution." Revolutions have never failed to be most profitable to Jews. It is the time for wholesale plunder

* Malo. "Histoire des Juifs," p. 526.

† Cerfbeer de Medelsheim. "Les Juifs: leur Histoire, leur Mœurs," p. 9.

and robbery, for big jobs, for big bargains, and they always lead to big loans. It is in other ways, too, the most effective method for carrying out their programme, as laid down in the Talmud—the destruction of Christian civilization and of Christian society.

The French Revolution and the death of Louis XVI., according to Drumont, were resolved upon in the Jewish Masonic Wilhemsbad Convention, held in 1787, and presided over by the Jew, Adam Weishaupt. He makes this statement on the evidence of persons who were present at the convention. The different revolutionary organizations which are at present undermining European society, have all their strong contingent of Jewish element. Herzen, one of the chiefs of the Nihilists in Russia, is a Jew, so is the Nihilist Goldeberg, so is Deutsch, the Nihilist, arrested some time ago in Odessa. All the Nihilist trials prove that the Jews are very numerous in the Nihilist ranks. This may account for the fact that the Jews have been declared public enemies in Russia, and that it is not safe to travel in Russia without a baptismal certificate, as Mr. Samuel Montague, M.P. for Whitechapel, and Mr. Lewisohn before him, have experienced. The founder and leader of the Socialists, Karl Marx, is a Jew. So are the chief propagandists of the Red International Society, Lasker and Lassalle. The infamous Socialist paper, *Freiheit*, is conducted by Jews. Before he became a statesman the Jew, Naquet, who has written some clever books on chemistry, was a Socialist conspirator, and as such he published a recipe for the fabrication of gun-cotton, in order that "the sons of Liberty might have within easy reach the means of blowing up whole cities, if they find it expedient for the triumph of their cause." Perhaps he has given up gun-cotton, but he is trying an equally effective means of uprooting the very foundation of Christian society by the Law of Divorce, which he proposed and carried in the "Chambre des Communes," and which the Rabbi Astruc, of Brussels, prepared for him, as is clearly proved by the correspondence that passed between them, and since made public.

The famous pétroleuse, Louise Michel, lives in the same house with a Jew, Moyses, Conseiller Général of the Departement de la Seine, and lately a candidate for the French Senate. It is well to have useful people close at hand in case of an emergency, and to keep on good terms with them.

The organizers and abettors of the strikes among workmen are Jews. The leaders of the strikes of the miners of Decazeville, their apologists in the newspapers and in the French Parliament, are Jews.

4. Renan, in the lectures he delivered in the Collège de France on the Hebrew race, and which are quoted with much pride and

complacency by the editor of the "Archives Israélites," makes use of expressions such as these: "The future belongs to the Jew;" "L'avenir appartient au Judaïsme." From what Drumont tells us it would appear as if the present was already pretty much in their hands, in France at least. There is no State in Europe but is mortgaged to the Jewish bankers. Protracted international wars, large standing armies, have burdened every country with a ruinous public debt, which makes the Jews the arbiters of Europe. Peace and war depend on their beck. Their financial system, as Montesquieu said, is supporting the States of Europe, as the rope may be said to support the unfortunate wretch who is hanging from the gallows. But France especially is at the mercy of the Jews. The Jew as money-lender, usurer, swindler, is busily at work draining the country of its capital, as the leeches are sucking out the life-blood of the horse which has fallen into a pond. The masses toil and labour; the vine-grower, the agriculturist, the artisan, drudge and slave, toil and moil from morning to night to eke out a miserable existence; the profit of their work goes into the coffers of the Jews, who neither plough, nor sow, nor spin. The capital of France is valued at 150 milliards of francs, of which the Jews possess 80—over one-half. The widow of James Rothschild has more than three milliards for his own share. The widow of James Rothschild died worth 600 millions of francs. The wealth of Monte Christo, fabulous as it seems, is nothing to this. Hirsch, Bischoffsheim, Erlanger Camondo, Ephrussi, possess each a capital nearly as large as Rothschild. The most important railway lines are in the hands of the Jews. The Great Northern, running between Calais and Paris, is the private property of the Rothschilds.* The canals, such of them as are worth speaking of, belong to the Jews.

5. If gold is the first and chief power in the world, the public press holds undoubtedly the second place. The Jews are not ignorant of this. They rule the press of every country by means of their gold. The public press in Paris and in the provinces is to a large extent in their hands. It is only here and there that we find an independent newspaper in France. *Le Voltaire*, *La Presse*, *Le Siècle*, *Les Débats*, *Le Constitutionnel*, *La République Française*, *La Nation*, *La Revanche*, *Le Gaulois*, *Le Figaro*, *La France*, *La Liberté*, *La Lanterne*, are all sold to the Jews, or edited by Jews. With the exception of four or five, all the Parisian papers are under their control. This gives them an

* Toussnel, in his famous work, "Les Juifs rois de l'Europe," tells in an extraordinary story how poor Rothschild got possession of the Great Northern Railway, the Government of Louis Philippe handing the line over to him for 99 years, after 100 millions of francs of public money had been spent for building the line.

immense power over public opinion, which they manipulate as they please. The unthinking part of mankind, which, after all, form the majority, take from the newspapers their political creed, and very often their principles of right and wrong, of honour, of virtue, of uprightness, and of patriotism. The newspaper sets before the masses the idol of the hour; tells them what to admire and what to disapprove; what to adore and what to burn. Absolute masters as they are of the press, the Jews can make and unmake reputations; they have it in their power to undermine faith and belief—and they use their power. By flattering the passions of the masses they can declare war upon institutions and governments as they list.

6. The principal telegraph agencies, the "Agence Havas," "Agence Reuter," and "Agence Stefani," are completely in their hands; they can thus, to suit their purposes, spread false news about diplomatic difficulties, rumours of war, and thereby raise and lower the money market at will.

7. They are more powerful than kings. Their gold is the universal talisman, the secret of all power, the instrument of every enjoyment, the tempter of every conscience, the mysterious influence which rules the world, the master of the nations which have given up their allegiance to Christ. With it they can purchase everything which has its price, everything which is purchasable. Nothing is safe against their encroachments: the land no more than the railroads and the canals. By their mortgages they have long held the land in their grip—and by degrees it is becoming their property; and soon the monopolists in land, which the Great Revolution had swept away, will be replaced by monopolists more hateful and more intolerable, because completely out of touch with the people. The Jews Rothschild, Hirsch, Reinach, and Bischoffsheim already own nearly the whole of the two Departments of Seine-et-Oise and Seine-et-Marne; new purchases are made every day by Hebrew usurers. The choicest and richest Bordelais and Bourgogne vineyards are the property of these Jews. The Chateau-Lafitte belongs to Gustave Rothschild, the "Romancé" to Alphonse Rothschild, and the "Mouton" to James Rothschild, and so forth. Soon Frenchmen will not be allowed, except by favour of the Jews, to drink the wine growing in their own country.

Kings of the railways, the Stock Exchange, the corn market, the press, the telegraph, they are absolute masters of France, of everything which interests the security, the happiness, nay, the vitality and very existence of the nation. If the very air we breathe could be sold and monopolized, says Toussenel, the Jews would monopolize and buy it. Such is their power that it strikes with terror all thoughtful men who look into the future.

Petrus Borel, that ill-fated genius whom the Jews harassed to death, was perhaps right when he said: "Those Jews, formerly proscribed and burned at the stake, will soon have so decimated, subdued, and beggared us, that it will be hard to find any remnant of Christianity in Europe, except in some out-of-the-way corner of the suburbs of our large cities, where the Christians shall be confined to rot in misery, dirt, and degradation, like the Jews in the Jewries and Ghettos of the Middle Ages." The Jews themselves, so prudent and cautious until they have gained their end, seem so secure in their position that they throw off their usual reserve, and speak openly with the insolence of ruthless conquerors, who have nothing to fear. The Jew Mirès, one of the friends and boon companions of Napoleon III., said lately: "If the Christians wish to hang us, they had better make haste, for in fifty years they will not possess as much as the price of a rope: there will be left but their two eyes to cry." The Jewish Baron Hirsch was heard telling one of his Hebrew friends, as from the top of his staircase he pointed at the dukes, duchesses, marquises, counts and countesses who were retiring from an entertainment given at his residence: "Do you see these people? Before twenty years are over, they will either be our sons and daughters-in-law or our hall-porters."

8. It is clear the Synagogue has well carried out the advice given by Jules Simon, their philosopher, to "take quietly possession of the land, and let the Aryan Goym emigrate to heaven." Whether got quietly or otherwise, the land and everything in it seems to be very nearly in their possession. How it got there M. Drumont explains. In the first place he tells us that there is a mysterious latent force which draws gold to the Jew, as iron is drawn to the loadstone. If the gold does not come quickly enough, speculations, financiering, stock-jobbing, swindling, forgeries, robberies shorten the operation.

Nothing succeeds like success. Some people, full of admiration for, and amazement at, the gigantic fortunes built up by Rothschild, Hirsch, Ephrussi, and others, tell us that they owe these fortunes to their financial genius; others are silly enough to say that the financial system of the Jews is the strength of France—they should rather say, her weakness. The Jewish financial system consists in the art of producing an artificial panic in the money market for the benefit of the large unprincipled capitalists, and the ruin of the uninitiated industrious money-making middle-classes. The Jewish financial system is a continual snare, in which the Aryan son of toil is always caught, stripped of his savings, and beggared, to enrich the parasite Hebrew. According to that system the Jew alone gains, everybody else loses. "He is," as de Biez says, "a financier of a peculiar kind, with an arithmetic

quite his own; he puts down nought and carries all." Everybody knows what an immense factor the present telegraphic system is in the rise and fall in the money market. The knowledge of a diplomatic complication, of a sudden great political or commercial event, which is kept a secret from the public, gives a large capitalist the same advantage over his less favoured competitors in the money market as loaded dice gives to one gambler over another. It is a matter of notoriety that Rothschild had, under Napoleon III., free entry to the Ministers' Cabinet, and that no secret was kept from him. Some time ago it was publicly proved that the "Agence Havas" delivers Rothschild the telegraphic news one hour before it is communicated to the general public. A man who has such means at his disposal requires no great genius to become in a few minutes the lord and master of fortunes which it has taken several generations to build up. The panic created in February last about the probable outbreak of a war between France and Germany, brought no less than 300 million of francs to the coffers of Rothschild and Bleichröder. The Hebrew bankers command such immense resources, they are so unscrupulous in using them, that their ring can at any time break any firm or company unwary enough to interfere with their monopoly. Thus, for instance, they brought about the failure of the "Union Générale" which created such sensation and caused so much misery a few years ago. Our space will not permit us to go through the long list of Jewish frauds and swindles as given by Drumont; here are a few taken at hap-hazard:—The "Directeur du Crédit National," Jean David, an Israelite, robs the shareholders of three million of francs and disappears. By means of lying prospectuses no less than thirty bogus companies, of which Drumont supplies the titles and dates of issue, with number and value of shares, have been floated in an interval of a few years by the Jew, Erlanger. The sum which Erlanger and his confederates thus realized amounts to 300 millions of francs. The Egyptian Loan, managed by the Jews, amounted to 1,389,175,000 francs; of this sum but 875,000,000 found its way to the Khedive's exchequer, the balance remaining in the hands of the Jews. The Honduras Loan was, in one way, a still more brilliant affair. Messrs. Bischoffsheim, Scheyer and Dreyfus raised, in 1880, in the name of the Honduras Government a loan of 157,000,000 francs, of which the Honduras authorities declared they never received one cent. The "Société Financière Tunisienne" is another great financial scandal of the Hebrew Masonic Republic which at present rules the destinies of France. It was in order to prepare the ground for the operations of that Jewish company that the otherwise unaccountable Tunis expedition was undertaken, in which 18,000 French soldiers lost their

lives, either in the hospitals or on the battle-fields. The Jews, Biedermann and Carlin, buy up all the colza oil in the European market, and by means of this operation they raise the price of colza oil 100 per cent. Suddenly they bring the whole concern to a collapse. By following on the same lines, Ephrussi is at present the king of the corn market, as much as the Jew, Moses Ranger, who failed in Liverpool for £75,000, was the king of the cotton market. This sort of wholesale robbery goes by the dignified name of speculation, financiering, stockjobbing. The Jews are no less expert in the more vulgar branches of thieving, which are simply various means of "getting back their own." Bail, the author of "*Les Juifs au dix-neuvième Siècle*," himself a Jew and an apologist of the Jews, confesses that eleven out of every twelve thieves or swindlers sentenced in Leipzig are Jews. Cerfbeer de Medelsheim, another Jew, regrets that the sordid greed for easy lucre should lead so many Jews astray—into jail—and, speaking for the Jews of France, he says: "Criminal statistics prove the proportion of the Jews sentenced for robbery and fraud is more than 50 per cent." They consider any occasion fit for levying money on the Gentiles, even the "*Fêtes de Charité!*" The sailors on the coast of Batz do not watch shipwrecks with more eagerness than some of these Jews seem to watch earthquakes, floods, fires, in fact, any disaster that may take place in any part of the world, be it at Chio, Ischia, Murcia, Szegedin, to organize what they call "*Fêtes de Charité*"—i.e., balls, bazaars, &c., and if the statements made in various newspapers speak the truth, these Jews don't forget that "charity begins at home." This swindling seems to have become quite the order of the day under the Jewish Masonic Republican *régime*. Every one seems anxious "*faire sa pelote*," as Madame Grévy calls it, and to make hay while the sun shines. Thus we find, for instance, that in the year 1883, the Municipal Council of Marseilles, on which several Hebrews have seats, spent 120,000 francs (£4800) for envelopes, and 75,000 francs (£3000) for pens, penholders, and pencils. Talk of the London Corporation scandal after that! What is £42 for a pamphlet by Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, or £50 for another by Mr. Leigh, to £3000 for pencils and penholders? These Jews have raised forgery and swindling to the dignity of a fine art. They have artists of this kind in every department. Horse jobbing, old pictures, articles of *vertu*, old china, old manuscripts, anything and everything may serve to display their talents. One Saphira seems to have surpassed them all in cunning and clever trickery. He selected the Moabite archæology as his line of business. The Berlin Museum paid him 6,000,000 francs for some antique Moabite vases, which M. Cler-

mont Ganneau proved to be common modern utensils made a few months before by some Arab potters in Jerusalem, whose names and addresses he gave. This same Saphira, who worked much in the Moabite line, had the audacity to offer for sale to the British Museum a supposed copy of the Moabite text of Deuteronomy, which, he said, was from twenty-seven to twenty-eight centuries old. The British Orientalists were in ecstasies at this discovery, endeavouring to decipher this extraordinary relic of a bygone age, when M. Clermont Ganneau's book, entitled "Archæological Frauds in Palestine," revealed to an astonished world that the MS. was fabricated by Saphira himself; it even described the process employed in the manufacture. The same work of M. Clermont Ganneau exposes many other forgeries from this same inventive Saphira and similar craftsmen—all Jews. The names of Hebrews appear so frequently in connection with those shady modes of money making that the "Archives Israélites" have repeatedly asked, in the name of *liberty of conscience*, that the mention of the creed and religious persuasion of persons sentenced by the courts should be suppressed, as it does not appear in what the interests of justice can be advanced by the public knowing that a robber, a swindler, or a pickpocket is a Catholic or a Jew. Yet when they get hold of a scandal, real or imaginary, in the Catholic community, they make the whole civilized world ring with their clamours about Catholic immorality.

9. Gambling seems of late to have taken most alarming proportions in Parisian society. The society papers owned by the Jews have made it fashionable, and no gentleman with any ambition to a standing in "society" can deny himself that luxury. This gambling is chiefly carried on in the cercles, or clubs, which are almost exclusively kept by the Jews. Everywhere, it would appear, the idea prevails that the keeping of gambling hells is a speciality of the Hebrew race. Disraeli, whose fellow-feeling for the Jews cannot be questioned, in his "Young Duke" makes mention of a Baron de Berghem (there are several Jews of that name in Paris) as the owner of the gambling hell in which his young hero is induced to risk and lose a hundred thousand pounds in one sitting, which lasted two nights and a day, just to see what gaming was like. The sums squandered in those Parisian gambling hells are fabulous. *Le Matin*, a Paris paper, published, in 1884, statistics of the money gained by the "bankers" who keep the gaming tables in those cercles, and consequently, lost by those who frequent them—he puts at 59,600,000 francs as the lowest estimate of the profits of these bankers within the last six years.

III. Progress of the Conquest.

It is interesting to follow the development of the plan of the Jews against society in their history in France from their first appearance in Gaul in the time of the Roman occupation. The author shows how the descendants of Israel, after shuffling themselves into France, have, thanks to naïve tolerance, become the masters of the destinies of Frenchmen.

Without entering into the details of their chequered career in France, their usuries, their growing wealth, influence and numbers, their expulsions by successive kings, and their invariable returns to the country from which they had been driven, the various penal laws enacted against them by the powers that be, not through a spirit of intolerance or religious animosity, as M. Drumont well explains, but in sheer defence of the people against their malpractices, their history may be summed up in a few lines: when the Jews were most prosperous France was lowest and weakest, and *vice versâ*. During the reign of Louis XIV., when France was the leading nation in Europe, there were but four Jewish families in Paris. The Great Revolution, proclaiming the Rights of Man, emancipated the Jews, and threw all the gates of France wide open to them. They poured in from all sides upon the distraught country, and in the confusion and feverish excitement prevailing at the time, they made good their footing in it. The Revolution is quite an epoch in their history. The Jew Salvador calls it "A second Sinai for Israel;" Cahen, belonging to the advanced school of thought, but remaining a Jew all the same, says: "The Messiah has come for us on the 28th of February, 1790, with the Rights of Man."*

No sooner were they emancipated, than they began to work at their trade. Not a few of the principal actors in the frightful tragedy which followed the proclamation of the Rights of Man were Jews. Marat—the infamous, bloodthirsty Marat—was a Jew, David was a Jew, Simon, the executioner of Louis XVI., was a Jew, Cloutz, Guzman, Peregra, Treys, were Jews also. The Jews got the lion's share of the plunder of the churches, the monasteries, the chateaux of the emigrant and exiled nobility. The crown jewels, with a few exceptions, all fell to their lot.†

The young artillery officer, whom Fortune and his own genius suddenly raised to the throne as Emperor of France, kept for a

* Cahen: "Archives Israélites," 1847; vol. viii. p. 801.

† It is a notorious fact that at the sale of the crown jewels of France, last year, the Jews bought the best and the most valuable lots.

while their encroachments in check. Of all those who have ruled over France since the Revolution, Napoleon I. is the only one who seems to have understood the Jews. Whilst he allowed every French citizen to pay for a substitute instead of serving himself in the army, he denied the Jews that alternative. He wanted to see them "*de près*," as he said.

He introduced most wise regulations concerning their status and pursuits. A law of July 20, 1808, supplemented by another of September 8 of the same year, forbade the Jews to settle down in any town or village without complying with very minute and stringent police regulations, the principal one of which was that they were to bind themselves to cultivate the land and pursue agriculture in general, not to undertake any traffic or commerce, and especially to abstain from usury and money-lending.*

Quiet and unobtrusive during the Empire and the Restoration, the Jews felt more at home during the reign of the citizen king, Louis Philippe. They grew bolder and more outspoken as their power and influence increased. Drumont is rather hard on the whole Orleans family, whose friendship for the Jews he explains by the fact that the bond between them is their common love for money. They are fellow-worshippers of the Golden Calf. The Bourbons, he says, spend their money with an open hand. When they have no money they borrow, and spend it on their enemies and neglect their friends. The Napoleons are equally liberal and free in spending their money, but, contrary to the manner of the Bourbons, they spend it on their friends and not on their enemies. The Orleans spend it neither on their friends nor on their enemies, but keep it, and in this they betray their fellow-feeling with the Jews. Of course this was written before the Duke d'Aumale's munificent donation of Chantilly and its valuable collections of art to the French nation.

The power of the Jews had already grown so great during the reign of Louis Philippe as to cause some alarm to the Duke of Orleans, then presumptive heir to the throne of France, and the only member of the Orleans family who felt no sympathy for

* One of the most interesting bits of information given by Drumont is the history of the introduction of Jewish modern family names and surnames. Napoleon decreed that they were all to assume a family name which was not to be taken from the Old Testament (!) It is then we see for the first time such names as Lisbonne, Paris, Lyon, Marseille, Picard, Bourgeois, Laurier, appear as family names. Joseph II., who willingly imitated his neighbours, made regulations of the same kind in his empire, with this difference, that the names were, in each case, given by the Crown officials. When the applicant showed an inclination to be liberal, he might be presented with such poetical and high-sounding names as Wohlgeruch, Edelstein, or Goldadler; if stingy, they were labelled Galgenvogel (gal-lows-bird), Saeufer (tippler), &c.

the Jews. In a letter addressed to his royal father, and made public in 1841, the Duke said :

It is most urgent that without any further delay the people should be rescued by the Royal power from the clutches of the Jews, or the Jews will ruin royalty. By means of their intolerable usury they oppress and crush the people, and cause the masses to curse those set above them. If we do not hunt the Jews from France the Jews will hunt us from it.

The unfortunate prince did not live to see this prophecy realized. His warning was left unheeded ; the Jews remained, and six short years after these words had been written Louis Philippe lost his throne, and in a hasty flight had to leave France for ever.

Under Napoleon III. they become aggressive. They speak with the insolence of masters who may not be gainsaid even by the Emperor himself. Napoleon having, in the preface to his "Julius Cæsar," said that "the nations which misunderstood and opposed the rulers sent to save them acted like the Jews who crucified their Messiah," Crémieux, the High Priest of the "Alliance Israélite Universelle," publicly denounced this allusion to the crucifixion of the Messiah by the Jews as an insolent outrage upon freedom of conscience. "We live," he exclaimed, "in a time and a country where creeds and religion *must* be confined to the conscience of every man, and where the different forms of worship may not be displayed outside the churches and temples." Napoleon lived surrounded by Jews ; they were in his Cabinet, in his household, everywhere. Fould was his Minister ; Rothschild, Mirès, Solar, were his intimate friends.

The mathematical tutor of the Prince Imperial, Koralech, was a Jew ; the confidential friend and spiritual adviser of the Empress was a Hungarian Jew, Bauer. The poor Emperor had to pay dear for his infatuation about the Hebrews. The Franco-Prussian war, which cost him his crown, was prepared and aided by Jewish spies. Nine out of every ten spies caught during the war were Jews. When arrested by the French soldiers, they were as ready to betray the secrets of the Prussians as they had been to spy on the French ; they seemed to care but little for one country more than another. The Jew has no country. France, Germany, England or Austria, is to him but a dwelling-place, which he uses for his convenience. Such a thing as patriotism is altogether unknown to him. He is essentially a cosmopolitan, and settles wherever he can make most money. "Ubi aurum, ibi patria," is his motto. When the Queen of Roumania asked the Jew Blowitz, the Paris correspondent of the *Times*, what countryman he was :—"To tell your Majesty the truth," he replied, "I am not quite sure of it

myself. All I know is that I was born in Bohemia, I live usually in Paris, where I write English." The whole Jewish race is but one great clan, regarding every creature outside of itself as a stranger and a legitimate prey. Renan says the Jew has no country, no other interests but those of his sect; he is a stranger everywhere, and has often been a great curse to the country to which fate has driven him.*

In every period of the history of the world since the foundation of Christianity the Jew has been plying the trade of spy and traitor. Bismarck, who ought to know them, says, "Wherefore was the Jew created, unless to be a spy." He is a born spy. Nature has endowed him with all the meanness, cunning, deceit, and rascality required to make a successful spy and informer. "Thieving and lying are kind to the Jew," said Napoleon. Since the days of Judas Iscariot the Jews have made this ignoble trade their own. Simon Maiol, the learned Bishop of Vulturara, says of the Jews of his day: "These traitors, these nefarious scoundrels, sell to the Turks our country, our armies, and our towns, and we feed them and tolerate them."† The most notorious spies and traitors mentioned in history are Jews. Sedecias, who betrayed and then poisoned Charles the Bold, was a Jew; Meise, the murderer of Henry III. of Castile, was a Jew. Oliver Cromwell had in his pay a whole crew of Jewish spies,‡ who kept him well informed of what was going on in the countries with which he was at war. Who has not been amused at the history of Voltaire spying in Metz on the Jew Solomon Levy? This Hebrew, made famous by Voltaire, tried the difficult task of serving two masters at one and the same time, and acted simultaneously as spy for Louis XV. and the Emperor Leopold, at war with one another, and was evidently betraying both. Voltaire, who was quite a match for any Jew, wrote to Cardinal Dubois: "With your Excellency's leave, I beg to submit that this Jew, owning no fatherland except where he can make money, is as liable to betray the King to the Emperor, as the Emperor to the King."§

Louis Goldsmith, the arch-spy, who put Tallyrand in possession of the secrets of all the Cabinets of Europe, was a Jew. Deutz, who like a bloodhound tracked the unfortunate Duchesse de Berry from hiding-place to hiding-place and then sold her to Louis Philippe, was a Jew. General Hicks Pasha was betrayed

* "Archives Israélites," 1868, vol. xii. p. 543, where Renan is censured for the statement.

† Simon Maiol. "De Perfidia Judæorum."

‡ G. de Pascal states that Cromwell proposed to sell Ireland to the Jews for £2,000,000 sterling a year.

§ Voltaire. "Œuvres complètes." Edition Beuchot. Tome li. p. 73.

by Cloutz, a Jew, and led by him into the trap where he lost his army and his life.

The noisiest and most advanced members of the Commune in Paris, the most eager for blood, for the killing of priests and soldiers, those who led and organized the saturnalia which polluted and desecrated the churches of the French capital, the most ardent for the plundering of convents, the instigators of the burning of the public buildings, the Dacostos, Lisbonne, Picard, Simon, Vermesh, Bloch, Leon Frankel, Dombrowski, Crémieux, Mayer, Lockroy, were Jews; and, strange to say, few of them, if any, suffered for the part they had taken in the horrors and crimes of those days.

Whilst the foolhardy enthusiasts whom these scoundrels had, by their wild talk and frothy declamations, driven to open rebellion died on the barricades, rifle in hand, they, like the commanders-in-chief on the day of battle, kept out of the reach of ball and bayonet, stationed themselves in the rear, thence to observe and to direct the movements, to provide for their safety, and "live to fight another day."

During their triumphal march through France the Prussians everywhere respected the monuments, the statues, raised to French military heroes, made illustrious in the wars against Prussia, and by the victories in which the Prussian armies were defeated. It never occurred to them to interfere with the statues of Marceau, Davoust, Ney and Lannes, which they met on their road. The statues of French generals such as Rapp, Kleber, Kellerman, adorn even to-day the towns now subject to Prussian rule.

It was reserved to a Jew, one Simon Mayer, to take advantage of the frenzy which prevailed during the "Commune" for the overthrow of the Colonne Vendôme, the Colonne of the Grande Armée, that national monument of the past glory of France, the trophy of so many victories. This same Jew presided over the massacre of the Generals Thomas and Lecomte. Yet this scoundrel received from Glaibyzoïn a safe conduct and escaped scot-free, like all other Communist Jews, whilst many a poor Federalist who shouldered the rifle and entered the National Guard, simply for the pay which saved him and his family from starvation during the Commune when there was no other means of earning a livelihood, were unmercifully shot. The immunity which these Jews enjoyed in life and property during and after the Commune is simply marvellous and most significant. During the last days of the Commune, while Paris was enveloped in clouds of smoke, when the pétroleuses rushed like Mænads through the streets, torch in hand, setting fire indiscriminately to the palaces of kings, the humble homes of the artisan

or ancient cathedrals, when the houses of the shopkeepers and the "hotels" of the rentiers were alike gutted and plundered, *there was not a pane of glass injured in any of the 150 houses which the Rothschilds possessed at that time in Paris!* This seems the result of something more than mere chance. One would have expected that in the frame of mind in which the mob was during these unfortunate days, when murder and plunder seemed to be the order of the day, the Rothschild property would have been the very first attacked. What magician's wand drew around these 150 houses the enchanted circle before which the fury of the populace was broken as the ocean waves break against a granite wall?

Victor Hugo, a most impartial witness, declared that "the Commune was organized by those who have profited by it." It was proved the other day in a police court that Rothschild receives regularly reports of the proceedings of all the most secret anarchist meetings. The most violent orators at these meetings are in his pay. This may be very useful and may account for many things. The Rothschilds have the reputation of being able to find good investments for their capital.

The question may be asked, why should the Jews be mixed up with the Commune? A Jewish lecturer some time ago stated in Paris: "*The Jews are rich enough to buy up all France, and perhaps they will do it yet when dynamite will have done its work.*"

What a bitter irony in the words which Emile Barrault addressed to Rothschild:

Sir, you are a living miracle, thrones crumble one after the other, dynasty succeeds dynasty, the other great clever men disappear as in an abyss. Renowned statesmen, brilliant orators, vanish and are heard of no more. Shareholders, shopkeepers, manufacturers are ruined, everything falls, everything is pell-mell on the ground—the tall on the small and the small on the tall—those who crush and those who are crushed. You alone in the midst of all these ruins remain unshaken. In short, all wealth melts away, all glory is humbled to the dust, every power is hurled to the ground—the Jew alone, the king of the age, remains on his throne.

However, the little cloud, which may be the harbinger of a big storm, is showing in the sky. An outburst of popular feeling, rather ominous and significant, took place in Paris on the day when the first news of the disastrous defeat of Lang-Son was announced. There were large gatherings of ouvriers in the streets; the usual violent speechifying was heard. The *Times*, generally so discreet where Jews are concerned, said that the Chinese had borrowed from Rothschild the money to purchase arms. Suddenly a cry was raised: "*Chez Rothschild! chez*

Rothschild!" "Let us go to Rothschild." Fortunately, says the *Gaulois*, some persons in the crowd succeeded in calming the popular fury, and dissuading the people from putting their intentions into execution. Will the mysterious persons, this "*Deus ex machina*" in the crowd, always succeed in calming the populace?

If the Revolution of 1793 was for the Jews like "another Sinai," the dawn of the Third Republic, as the present government is called, was for them like the entry into the Promised Land. Since their forced exodus from Palestine, they never were so completely masters of any country as they are of France at the present day. Drumont's book is, properly speaking, but the history of the doings of the Jews during the present Republic. The rest is but an introduction, a preface to that history. He endeavours to show in the preface what was the aim and object of the Jews, how they prepared the means, and what was the nature of the means they had at their disposal to carry out that object. Now he has but to show the Jew at work, with free scope to give full rein to all his passions, his fierce inveterate hatred of everything venerable and Christian, and a dismal painful history it is.

The Jewish element came at once to the front with the proclamation of the Republic on the 4th of September, 1870, as the froth comes to the surface whenever a storm is disturbing the sea. There were no fewer than five Jews members of the Government after the proclamation of the Republic—viz., Crémieux, Jules Simon, Maguin, Ernest Picard and Gambetta, the youngest and boldest of them all. For Léon Gambetta, at one time the all-powerful Dictator of the French Republic, according to documents which seem to leave no room for any doubt as to their authenticity, belongs to the tribe of Ephraim. He is the lineal descendant of a Jew from Wurtemberg, called Gamberlé, who, at the time of Napoleon's continental blockade, settled down in Genoa, where he married a Jewess whose father had been hanged for forgery. He there changed the Wurtembergian Gamberlé into the more Italian-sounding Gambetta. A son of his migrated to Cahors, where he became a Christian and the father of the famous Léon Gambetta, who, although baptized, remained true to Israel. The old Jew Crémieux, the head centre of the "*Alliance Israélite*," took young Léon by the hand and made him his private secretary. In that capacity he became soon initiated into the aim and object of the "*Alliance Israélite Universelle*." The "*guerre à outrance*" supplied him with a splendid opportunity for bringing into play his Hebrew instincts of enriching himself at the Christians' expense. That "*guerre à outrance*" ruined France and made a wealthy man of Léon Gambetta. Before the war he was a penurious, briefless, though noisy barrister, depending for his

subsistence on the small pittance Crémieux allowed him for his secretaryship. He had long accounts to pay at the Café Procope and other resorts of the kind, and a very ill-furnished wardrobe. Two years after he was the owner of millions. The confusion which prevailed everywhere at the time, and which he did his best to increase, was most favourable for peculation and embezzlement. Most scandalous fortunes were suddenly made, his own foremost among all, in this year, which proved so fatal to France. No account or voucher was ever produced for an expenditure of over two milliards of public money from September 1870 to March 1871. A most mysterious fire broke out in the train which conveyed the account-books and documents of the War Department from Bordeaux to Paris. The Communists very officiously burned the Public Accounts Office in Paris, with its records, which might have thrown light on sundry transactions. Thus no unpleasant questions were asked, and those who had pocketed the cash kept it.

Scarcely were these Hebrews in possession of their portfolios when they began to look after the general interests of the Jews, without losing sight of their own private claims. Whilst the Prussians were surrounding Paris with their belt of steel and iron, and France lay in the throes of her agony, the Jew Crémieux had time to think of his Hebrew brethren at large, and a decree, issued from Tours, proclaimed the supremacy of the Jews of Algeria above the native Arabs. This created the most formidable insurrection the French troops had ever to encounter in Algeria. The warlike Arabs, who had nobly shared with the French troops the perils of the Franco-Prussian war, and had shed their blood on the battle-fields of France, felt naturally indignant on seeing the Jews, whom they hate and despise, put in a position of superiority over them; they flew to arms under the leadership of the heroic Sidi-Mokrani. When a French officer brought to the dauntless chief the decree of Crémieux, establishing the supremacy of the Jews, he spat upon the decree and returned it to the officer, saying, "I will never obey a Jew." The war was terrible, and France was within an ace of losing for ever her largest colony, which has cost her so much money and blood. But what matters it if the interests of France suffer, if France herself perish, provided Israel prosper.

About the same time the Congress of Berlin, where the treaty of Berlin was concluded, offered a new opportunity to Crémieux and his Hebrew colleagues to use whatever influence was left to France for the advancement of the cause of the Jews. Waddington, the English representative of France at the Congress, had received strict orders not to sign the treaty if the rights of the Jews of Roumania to the monopoly of the trade in alcohol

and other prerogatives were not maintained. The Waddington clause was accepted, but the Roumanian people, finding themselves injured in the Jewish monopoly, resolved on managing their own affairs, in this respect at least, according to Roumanian ideas, and in complete disregard of the Waddington clause. The governors of the French Jewish Republic, too weak to enforce the only article of the Berlin treaty which they cared for, revenged themselves on the Roumanian people by levying a prohibitive duty of 50 per cent. on all Roumanian goods entering France. The traffic between the two countries being very insignificant, the vindictiveness of the Jews who manage the affairs of France only serve to make her ridiculous before all Europe.

I have come to the end of the space at my disposal, and must, therefore, reserve the conclusion of this article for another quarter.

JEFFREE.

ART. VI.—THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND.

THE project of a Catholic University for Ireland, started by the Synod of Thurles in 1850, has had such scanty measure of success—while on the other hand centres of the higher instruction, such as Cardiff, Bangor, Liverpool, &c., based on the principle that very probably there is no God, have prospered as soon as founded, as if they met a clear want of the time—that there is abundant reason why a Catholic should examine the matter very earnestly and very closely. The Thurles principle—the principle developed in those wonderfully eloquent “Discourses” of Cardinal Newman on the Idea of a University—was, that the completely liberal education of the disciplined and well-instructed man involved the admission of theology as the central and moderating science among the subjects of a University curriculum. Some may think that time and experience have shown that this was a principle too ideal for application to modern life. If it be really so, the generous error should be confessed—and abandoned. If England with her agnosticism be right, and Ireland with her Catholicism wrong, then let the Cardiff-Bangor type—which is also the Queen’s College type—be adopted in the seats of learning which are to train the cultivated Irishmen of the future. The *Freeman’s Journal* has spoken recently of the “prestige”

of Trinity College, and the necessity of obtaining some share in it for all those members of the Catholic majority who are aspirants for University education. A singular notion surely; it is as if St. Athanasius had insisted on the right of his Trinitarian followers at Alexandria to participate in the celebrity of the school of Arius; or St. Raymund of Pennafort sought, for the sake of "prestige," to affiliate Salamanca to Cordova. Still, if Irishmen will welcome no University system which Trinity College does not influence and colour, let the fact be noted, and let the leaders of the nation shape their conduct accordingly.

But there is no sufficient reason as yet for believing that the Irish people have abandoned the ideas which prevailed at the Synod of Thurles, and renounced the hope of getting at last a real Catholic University. What did the project mean? It is no use indulging in generalities and fine words; what practical result did the Thurles Synod and their lay supporters look for? By establishing a Catholic seat of learning at Dublin they hoped ultimately to secure this: that if an Irishman, in any part of Ireland—or of the world for that matter—wished to know what were the latest theories and the most important books on early Roman history, or on Turanian philology, or Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, or quaternions, or the doctrine of probability, or the correlation of forces, or the Elizabethan dramatists; in short, upon any one whatsoever of the subjects of higher and more difficult inquiry with which the human mind is at present engaged, he should be sure of finding some learned Catholic scholar or savant in Dublin capable of giving him all the information that he required, and of showing him all the books, apparatus, specimens, experiments, &c., necessary to guide his judgment. Besides this general object, the encouragement which the bishops afterwards gave to Professor O'Curry shows us that they had a special one—viz., to promote with great care the study of Celtic and Irish antiquities, so that not Irishmen only, but every Celtic scholar in any part of the world, whatever his nationality, might after a time come to know that by visiting Dublin he would have an opportunity of consulting MSS. not elsewhere to be met with, and conversing with men whose profound knowledge was racy of the soil, and corrected by the immemorial traditions of the people.

This, then, was the first object at Thurles, not to provide lectures and opportunities of distinction for clever young men, but to found a seat of learning. To open the walks of the higher education to the Irish youth was also an object; but it was secondary. The bishops rightly judged that if real learning and a true intellectual initiative were secured in the teaching staff, there would be sure, sooner or later, to be no lack of hearers. They announced that they founded the University "in order to

keep alive in our country the spirit of faith, while *enabling it fully to meet the literary and scientific requirements of the age.*"* They desired to obtain a thoroughly Catholic and thoroughly national education for their Catholic youth; but how? Not by dispersing them among colleges widely severed from each other, where they would be crammed to get the classes and prizes of an examining University; but by "providing them with the means of obtaining the *highest order of mental and moral culture*, and thus enabling them to secure for themselves literary and scientific distinction, and to advance themselves in any position, private or public."†

The satisfactory progress of the Catholic University of Louvain, founded, or rather refounded, by the Belgian Bishops in 1835, induced the late Holy Father Pius IX. to recommend it as a model to be followed by the bishops of Ireland. Complying with the advice of his Holiness, the bishops, being assembled in Synod at Thurles in 1850, determined to found a Catholic University at Dublin, which when fully constituted should contain, like that of Louvain, five faculties—theology, law, medicine, philosophy and letters, and science. Dr. Newman was appointed the first Rector, and solemnly installed on Whit-Sunday, the 4th June 1854. Until endowments and fees should make the new University self-supporting, it was arranged that the necessary expenses should be met by means of a subscription organized in all the dioceses of Ireland in the month of November each year.

There is no necessity to narrate at any length the course of events in the new University. The first great misfortune which befell it was the resignation of the Rectorship by Dr. Newman. He had laboured hard, preached and lectured most ably, and initiated many useful measures; still it would be too much to say that he left the University in a safe or flourishing state, and his departure was taken in many quarters as evidence that the enterprise was beset by great, if not insuperable, difficulties. Dublin was in this respect less happy than Louvain, where the first Rector, the illustrious Monsignor de Ram, bore the toils of office for thirty years, and only resigned when the institution, which at its opening had eighty students, was firmly and efficiently organized in every respect, and could point to nine hundred students on its rolls.‡ With the Catholic University the scanty attendance of students was always a difficulty. But with regard to the main object of foundation, the establishment of a Catholic seat of learning, some progress was gradually made. The admirable

* "Catholic University Chronicle," 1866. The italics are our own.

† *Loc. cit.*

‡ Last year, in which it celebrated its Jubilee, the Catholic University of Louvain was attended by 1600 students.

lectures of Eugene O'Curry, on the MS. materials of Irish History, and the social life, &c., of Ancient Erin, delivered within the walls of the University, became speedily known throughout learned Europe. The theological faculty could boast of the subtle and well-stored mind of Dr. O'Reilly; and Dr. Lawrence Forde, a man of vast and solid intelligence, if he had been spared longer to his country, must have attained to great fame as a canonist. In the medical faculty, the distinguished ability of William K. Sullivan, now the President of Cork Queen's College, was employed in the service of the University as Professor of Chemistry.

For more than two years after the departure of Cardinal Newman the University was left in the charge of Vice-Rectors—first, the late Archbishop of Cashel, then the Very Rev. Dr. Gartlan. At length (June 1861) the Very Rev. Dr. Woodlock, now Bishop of Ardagh, was brought from All Hallows, and installed as Rector. Under the new régime there was much activity: the library grew apace, and received several valuable bequests; some houses adjoining the original block (86 and 87 Stephen's Green) were purchased for the University; an Aula Maxima, or hall suitable for public academic functions, was erected; and many an able memorandum from the Rector's pen showed at once the necessity of the foundation, and the justice of its claim to Government aid and recognition. It must, however, be admitted that less was done to strengthen the *personnel*, the teaching staff, than the country had a right to expect. A glance at the "Catholic University Calendar" for 1865-6 shows that the faculty of philosophy and letters at that time was much too feebly constituted. There was no chair of ancient history or archæology, none of methodology, none for the literatures of Spain and Italy, none for any department of Celtic learning, not even for Irish. In the lecture-table there was no recognition of Egyptology, or Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, or Sanskrit, or, in short, of any Oriental literature or language. Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic studies were no less ignored; so were political economy and political philosophy. The late Mr. J. B. Robinson, besides being professor of modern history and geography, was also lecturer on English language and literature. Mr. Robinson was a competent historian, but with English literature he had only a general acquaintance, and it was ridiculous to intrust him with the professional charge of so vast a subject. At the same time, the faculties of medicine and science were organized, relatively at any rate, in a strong and efficient manner.

All these years the Queen's Colleges and the Queen's University, in spite of Catholic reclamations, were maintained by the British Government. The College at Belfast, being founded in the midst of a Protestant population, and countenanced by the

Presbyterian clergy of Ulster, shot ahead of the others, and achieved a solid success. Even at Cork and Galway the able professors appointed by the Government must have laid, but for the hopelessly uncongenial character of the *milieu*, foundations upon which permanent edifices would eventually have been reared. If the thing could have been done at all, they were the men to do it, and more than one of them might have said with a just pride :

Si Pergama dextra
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.

But the thing was not to be done if the Catholic bishops stood firm ; and they did stand firm. Accordingly, in 1879 Lord Beaconsfield passed his "University Education (Ireland) Act," by which the Queen's University was suppressed, and candidates for any non-theological degree were invited to seek it at the hands of a new "Royal University." Of course this was not what the Catholics wanted, but they despaired of obtaining anything more. The Senate of the new University was to be a mixed body, and the matriculation, which was the gate to all grades, degrees, honours, and prizes, was to be open to all competitors indifferently, whether they had been prepared in colleges and schools, or by private tuition. The statutes empowered the Senate to appoint twenty-eight Fellows in arts, and eight in medicine, for the purpose of carrying on its examinations, and there was an understanding that one-half of these appointments should be Catholic. The Senate might also require any Fellow to teach in a college containing matriculated students of the Royal University. In this way it was considered that a sort of indirect endowment might be given to the institution in Stephen's Green through the Senate's requiring its Catholic Fellows to lecture there.

How did this arrangement affect the Catholic University? Not favourably by any means. It was in the time of the bad harvests ; and doubtless many of the bishops felt the annual collection for the University to be a burden from which they would gladly relieve their flocks, if some not intolerable compromise could be found. Cardinal Cullen, the real founder of the University, had just died (Oct. 1878), and the educational affairs of the diocese passed into the less vigorous hands of Dr. McCabe. The Episcopal Committee for governing the University seems to have come to the conclusion in the course of 1879 that since Catholic students could now obtain degrees from the Royal University without stooping to any unlawful compliance, it would be expedient, for a time at any rate, to leave in abeyance the right of conferring degrees which the Catholic University, by Papal grant, undoubtedly possessed, and to let the institution

in Stephen's Green be known for the future as the "Catholic University College." It was perhaps anticipated by the Bishops that the Royal University would be brought into working order much sooner than was found practicable; otherwise they would surely have taken care that the ways and means for the support of the institution in Stephen's Green should not fall short so suddenly as they did. Dr. Woodlock was consecrated Bishop of Ardagh in June 1879; he was succeeded as Rector by Mgr. Neville, the Dean of Cork. The annual collection must have fallen very low in the years '79, '80, and '81; for in May 1882 the new Rector was obliged to give notice to the professors and others, who had hitherto drawn their stipends from the University fund, that their services would no longer be required from that date. When such a deplorable incident could occur, it need hardly be said that the fortunes of the Catholic University at this time had fallen to a very low ebb indeed.

In the spring of 1882 the Senate of the Royal University had appointed its Fellows, and the first examinations were commenced soon afterwards. In August 1882, under the clause in the statutes above mentioned, some of the Fellows began to lecture at the Catholic University College. But a considerable annual sum, apart from the salaries of the teaching staff, was required merely to keep the college on foot; and now that the collection had come to an end, where was the money to come from? Cardinal McCabe, at a meeting of Catholic Fellows held in the college on the 8th November 1882, informed them of the plan by which he hoped to overcome this difficulty. He proposed, he said, to form a consultation council, consisting partly of clergymen, partly of laymen, and with its aid to raise a "Diocesan Education Fund," for three objects, which he specified; one of the three was the sustentation of the Catholic University College. But he must have failed to think the plan thoroughly out, for in practice it came to nothing. Subscriptions to the "Fund" did not come in, and therefore the cost of keeping up the college fell on the Cardinal himself. In the course of a year he appears to have found that the arrangement would not work. The Society of Jesus were prepared to take over the college; terms for surrendering the premises to them, but with the right of re-entry at the expiration of a certain notice, were arranged between the Society and the Bishops; and in November 1883 Father Delany entered into possession as President.

Under the terms just alluded to the college is at present worked; and if they were but such as gave the new occupants a fair chance, and if they breathed over the institution that benevolent spirit of episcopal favour with which the Belgian bishops have always encouraged the University of Louvain, the prospects

of the college, considering the known ability and energy of the President, would afford little room for disquietude. But, most unfortunately, a new view of the character and *raison d'être* of the Catholic University began to be pushed into prominence about this time. It was suggested that the Catholic University might be considered to consist of all the principal Catholic colleges in the country, among which the Catholic University College was to be included. Now there was no great harm in giving this new meaning to the term "Catholic University"—although "Pan-Hibernian Academy" would have expressed the notion better and occasioned no confusion of thought—if the original design of establishing a Catholic seat of learning in St. Stephen's Green were steadily adhered to. A college may be a seat of learning, and be full of learned men, just as well as a university. There is no essential difference between them, except that one gives degrees and the other does not. The "Collège de France," for example, though it grants no degrees, is famed for being one of the chief seats of learning in Europe.

If, therefore, the bishops, following the example set them by the Belgian episcopate, had perseveringly supported the Catholic University College—after its transfer to the Jesuits, as well as before—the great design inaugurated at Thurles would have remained intact, and the augmented teaching power, obtained partly by the senatorial assignment of Fellows, partly through the appointment of tutors by the President, would probably have attracted a large number of students. However, for reasons still imperfectly understood, a different policy was adopted. The buildings in St. Stephen's Green were handed over to the Jesuits, but the use of the University church was interdicted to them; and the library was sent away to the diocesan seminary at Clonliffe. The dismantling of the library was really a pitiful sight. So great was the number of the books that to move and cart them away was an operation of several days. They are now at Clonliffe—available for the ecclesiastical students there, who do not want them; and beyond the reach of the lay students in St. Stephen's Green, who do want them. Again, the loss of a thousand good and enlightening influences which the closing of the University church* entails, becomes more manifest and more painful the longer one reflects upon it.

With regard to books, it is interesting to note the practice of the great Bishop of Djakovo, Monsignor Strossmayer, one of the founders of the University of Agram—a University which, though only founded in 1874, is rapidly realizing for the Slav Catholics

* As such, for it is kept open as a chapel of ease in the parish of St. Kevin.

of Croatia all that it was once hoped the Catholic University would do for Ireland. It is evident that he regards the provision of a large library at a seat of learning as a matter of primary necessity. Emile de Laveleye* relates that the Bishop took him to the place where the new library was about to be built. "He will place," says Laveleye, "the large collection of books which he has been making for forty years in the library, and now the professors will have the necessary material for their studies and researches."

There is, of course, not the slightest doubt that the bishops, in removing the library and closing the church, intended no harm to the cause of the higher education in Ireland. But people look at men's actions, and when they see thousands of books carted away from the University premises, and hear that the church—on which eighteen thousand pounds were spent, and in the pulpit of which have preached Newman, Card. Cullen, Father Thomas Burke, Petcherine, Ratisbonne, &c.—is now used as a chapel of ease, they naturally conclude that the institution in Stephen's Green is in disfavour with the bishops. In a Catholic country the wide diffusion of such a belief about any institution dependent on popular support for its prosperity means its ruin.

No authoritative vindication of these acts has ever been given; but it seems probable that the adoption of the shadowy theory already described about the Catholic University is the true explanation. If the design of founding a seat of learning is to be given up, and the name "Catholic University" is to stand for an imaginary institution *in nubibus*, to which a number of pre-existing Catholic colleges are supposed to be affiliated, then the institution in Stephen's Green must be regarded as on the same footing with all the country colleges, and it has no special need of books; or, if it has, the Jesuits must supply them for themselves.

Surely the generations that are to be will not easily forgive the Irish Catholics of to-day, if under fatal misguidance they renounce that ideal of a seat of the highest culture for which they strove so long, and content themselves with the "Pan-Hibernian Academy" which is offered them in its place. They may be quite sure that no objection will be offered to the transformation by the Protestants either of England or Ireland:

Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ.

Trinity, residential and concentrated, will continue to be the only institution in the country deserving the name of a seat of learning,

* "The Balkan Peninsula, 1887," p. 221.

unless, perhaps, Belfast Queen's College should justify its right to the title. The Irish Catholics, dispersing their young men, their books, all their literary and scientific materials and means, among a dozen colleges dotted about the country, will have themselves to thank for that intellectual *inadequacy* in all walks of life (except politics), which is certain to be the result.

The game is not yet lost, because the Government admit that the State is still a debtor to the Irish Catholics in this matter of the higher education. Everything depends on the manner in which the debt is paid.

The first question that arises is this :—Should an entirely new departure be taken, and a Catholic college or university be founded *de novo*, under the guidance and patronage of the Government ? or should whatever is done proceed upon the old lines, recognize the efforts and achievements of the past, and at last give effect to the great ideas which were formulated at Thurles and developed by Newman ?

In presenting this alternative there is no intention of undervaluing Government aid and control. In every civilized country the Government is the organized intelligence of the population ; in the institutions which it provides or oversees, favouritism, corruption, and the unprofitable expenditure of money, either find no place, or are sooner corrected than in those where it does not intervene. In the case of educational as of less important institutions, its influential aid, whether in the form of election or veto, assent or dissent, active or passive co-operation, is necessary to their well-being. What it cannot usefully originate in education, and ought not to impose, is the cardinal principle—the inspiring idea. This, for a Catholic people, is supplied by the Church, and ought to be adhered to with inflexible constancy. But it is idle to deny that exemption from the control and deprivation of the aid of the modern State is a grievous misfortune for any institution, even when its foundations have been laid by the Catholic Church.

Those who contend, therefore, that the originating idea of a University should proceed from the religious element in man, are not to be supposed to deny the right of the State to inspect, and if necessary, control, any such University, nor to dispute the benefit of such interference.

In a civilized country whatever is phenomenal is, and ought to be, subject to State regulation. All that is sanitary and architectural is the province of the ædile ; all that is educational and moralizing (or demoralizing) is the province of the censor. Whichever side of the alternative above stated the Irish Catholics may select, it may, we think, be confidently asserted that they all desire to join hands with the State, and not stand aloof from

it, as for many years, through no fault of their own, they were compelled to do.

The majority may perhaps prefer to regard the Catholic University as an experiment which has failed, and to found, in concert with the Government, a brand-new institution upon the plan of Cardiff or Bangor, well paid and well provided in all ways, and placed under exclusively Catholic management. But if they take this course they should do it with their eyes open. By allowing the institution in the Green to collapse, or to lose all the distinctive features of a seat of learning, they will be owning before the face of the world that the original project of a Catholic university for Ireland was chimerical, and that all the efforts to carry it out have been futile. The thread of continuous life connecting the Catholic University College of 1887 with the scheme inchoated at Thurles has certainly been worn thin, but it has never yet been broken. Irish Catholics will themselves be the first to break it if they transfer their efforts for the bestowal of the higher education on their sons from their own creation in Stephen's Green, either to the Pan-Hibernian academy already described, or to some new institute, to be fabricated after consultation with the Chief Secretary and the law officers for Ireland.

Without doubt such an institution might become, with good management, a signal success; but so, and much more easily, might the Catholic University College become, if episcopal favour, aided by the State, were to repair its breaches and extend its bounds. It is always better, where it is possible, *stare super antiquas vias*. All that is necessary is, that the heads of Irish Catholic society should consult together, and after coming to an understanding with the Government, should adopt some plan containing features more or less resembling these here noted down:

1. The restoration of the University Church to its original use. Laymen may easily get out of their depth when handling such a matter; but surely it would be possible, while handing over the church to the present administrators of the College, to impose conditions which would leave its use, for University purposes, at the unfettered disposal of the Episcopal Board.

2. The establishment of a good library, with provision for efficient management and due augmentation. It is to be hoped that, as the first step in this direction, the books of the old library would be brought from their retirement at Clonliffe and restored to the College.

3. The *épuration* and enlargement of the teaching staff. The College should be regarded as a place only for strenuous students, whether teachers or learners. All the more important subjects recognized throughout Europe as properly belonging to

the sphere of the higher education should be carefully provided for by the appointment of fit men to teach them. The necessary expenditure—for museums, laboratories, &c.—should be made on the scientific side. The general purpose of providing in process of time for the Catholic population a seat of learning, not less competently officered and not less adequately furnished with means and instruments than Trinity College, should be kept steadily in view both by the bishops and by the Government.

The past of the Catholic University of Ireland, though unfortunate, has not been inglorious. It has trained not a few able men, who have helped and are helping to make a happier future for Ireland. It was presided over in its infancy by one of those extraordinary men, whose genius, at long intervals of time, sheds a brilliant light on the confused intellectual strivings of our race. Let us not break with this past, but rather reverently preserve it, and build on the foundations laid at Thurles one of those "academes"

That keep alive the true Promethean fire.

ONE OF THE OLD STAFF.

ART. VII.—DR. STUBBS ON ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL LAW.

Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History and Kindred Subjects, delivered at Oxford, under Statutory Obligation in the years 1867–1884, by WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., Bishop of Chester and Honorary Student of Christ Church, late Regius Professor of Modern History, &c. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1886.

A VOLUME of lectures on modern history read and printed in Oxford by a Professor of its University is at least a great curiosity; for until lately the learning there was not much conversant with anything that was not about two thousand years old. Now another order prevails, and Dr. Stubbs has not written only, but also published, seventeen of his lectures, which are both full of learning and greatly interesting. Moreover, they are absolutely free from the taint of the irreligious and profane spirit, which, rightly or wrongly, is commonly believed to be now more or less dominant in that seat of learning, once renowned for its strict observance of ancient usage and wholesome customs.

Notwithstanding the learning of the Professor and the pellucid treatment of his subjects, the attendance on the lectures was not good. The ingenuous youth consciously or unconsciously respected the old traditions of the place, and kept their feet from entering the school where the Professor of Modern History would have been glad to see them; for alas! he says of his lectures that he "had to deliver them to two or three listless men" (p. 32). This must have been hard work, especially for a man who, having something to say, took great pains to say it well, and who is really able and learned. He is not angry, however, with the idlers, but he is very much distressed, and there is a mournful note in the story of his trials. "Afterwards," he says, "I lectured on texts rather more freely; latterly, as my classes regularly diminished, I took up more out-of-the-way subjects, and very nearly succeeded in getting rid of my classes altogether" (p. 382). It is impossible not to respect the Professor for his candid confession of disappointment.

The Professor certainly deserved greater respect and a larger audience, for his lectures are worth reading; as sermons in general are more efficacious in the pulpit than in a printed volume, it is to be presumed that these lectures, so pleasant even to read, must have been worth hearing; but, alas! they were neglected. It is quite possible, though Oxford has been reformed upon the most scientific principles and another spirit infused into it, that the old contempt for professors has survived the reformation, and that Dr. Stubbs was ignored by the academic youth, not because of his own shortcomings, but because he came before them as a member of a despised order of beings not respected by undergraduates, generally contemptuous of their teachers.

The learning of the Professor cannot be justly disputed; he is also most honest in the use of it, and therefore entitled to every commendation. Where he misapprehends matters which may be called ecclesiastical politics, he has done so unconsciously; under the pressure, perhaps not consciously recognized, of his own position outside the Church. The anti-Roman tradition in England is very old, very strong, and very common, and it was not possible for Dr. Stubbs, being where he is, always to detect its presence or to resist its influence. By some people he may be denounced as an Indifferentist, but the charge is utterly unfair; he is not indifferent, and he has clear opinions firmly held; he is not even impartial, for he knows that truth must be maintained; he is always in earnest, and takes his side in the fight, but he fights as an honourable and loyal foe, without meanness, and with perfect courtesy in the use of his weapons. We say it with pleasure, and with a clear persuasion of his good

faith, which shall not be called in question while we are discussing some of his doctrines, opinions, or assertions.

Perhaps the best way to make him known to those who have never seen him or heard him is to transcribe, as we are about to do, a few words from his last lecture, which he has indignantly and sarcastically headed, "A Last Statutory Public Lecture." Those lectures seem to have been a burden which he very reluctantly carried, and he has in his gentle way made a mock of them more than once, or rather of the obligation to write and read them.

I am going to leave with Oxford many, very many, friends; to leave, but not, I trust, to lose them. I hope that I have made no enemies; I have more dread of making enemies than is at all consistent with a properly constituted moral courage. I hope that I have succeeded. At all events, I have never reviewed the books of ally or opponent or any one else, I have never given pain or incurred hostility in that way. I have abstained from controversy, religious, political, or historical, for I have tried to live up to my own ideal of a strong position, that it consists far more in proved confidence in your own cause, in the vigilant maintenance of your own defences. I trust that I have never plucked a candidate in the schools without giving him every opportunity of setting himself right. I hope that I have never intrigued or bullied. I do not say this with any wish to imply that such things are ever done here, although the popular idea of the professorial character might suggest the need of a disclaimer. . . . Then, too, I have never been able to reconcile myself with smoking, late hours, dinner-parties, Sunday breakfasts, or University sermons (pp. 385, 386).

Here is a lifting of the veil that is between the inner life of Oxford and the inquiring gaze of those who wish to know something of it, for it is not possible to read this without doing that which is called reading between the lines. What has come over the preachers of the University, who every Sunday read wonderful discourses in the pulpit of St. Mary's, when the new Bishop of Chester puts the sermons away with the smoking he never indulged in? Dr. Stubbs does not speak at random, he knows how to weigh his words, and how to make them express his meaning, as we shall see in the following passage, which is taken from the twelfth lecture.

In the eleventh lecture (p. 244), the learned Professor tells us that he is "not one of those critics who incline to a very disparaging estimate of Henry VIII." He is not satisfied with Lord Herbert's estimate of him, still less is he satisfied with the picture painted for us so elaborately by Mr. Froude, nor does he "believe him to be a monster of lust and blood, as so many of the Roman Catholic writers regard him." Now let us hear

Dr. Stubbs. The Roman Catholics will not quarrel with him, though he hardly approves of their treatment of the English Antipope :

I do not attempt to portray him after my own idea, but I seem to see in him a grand gross figure, very far removed from ordinary human sympathies, self-engrossed, self-confident, self-willed ; unscrupulous in act, violent and crafty, but justifying to himself, by his belief in himself, both unscrupulousness, violence, and craft. A man who regarded himself as the highest justice, and who looked on mercy as a mere human weakness. And with all this, as needs must have been, a very unhappy man, wretched in his family, wretched in his friends, wretched in his servants, most wretched in his loneliness : that awful loneliness in which a king lives, and which the worst as well as the best of despots realizes. Have I drawn the outline of a monster ? Well, perhaps, but not the popular notion of this particular portent. A strong, high-spirited, ruthless, disappointed, solitary creature—a thing to hate or to pity, or to smile at or to wonder at, but not to judge (pp. 290, 291).

The picture is perfect, but it is the picture of Satan, and not the picture of a man.

In reading these lectures, it is impossible not to be struck by the sound common sense of the Professor. He has no mercy on popular delusions, not even on the delusions of men who consider themselves thinkers and guides of spirits needing true direction. But he is never sour or bitter, though he strikes hard. Cobden is reported to have said that men would learn more from an article in the *Times* newspaper than from the works of Thucydides. It is not known that Mr. Cobden either did or could read Thucydides, but it is well known that he changed his opinion of the wisdom of the *Times*. Dr. Stubbs refers to this, and makes the following commentary upon it, as becomes a man who had read Thucydides, and been examined in it :

I will venture to say that there are English journals now claiming a world-wide circulation, and assuming to be the very interpreters of history and political morality, in preference to whose lessons I should recommend the student to seek for lessons of history and political morality among the arrow-headed inscriptions of Assyria or the papyri of the Neapolitan Museum (p. 106).

That is his opinion of our free and independent press.

He did not join in the cry for "the endowment of research," not that he objected to either research or endowment, but because he was too honest to tolerate the imposture which in practice would be the endowment of idleness, and possibly of the most complete incapacity. There are those who think there is or ought to be a science of history, and of these he asks for an answer to the question he puts in the following words :

And is not the fact that the idea of a science of history finds

acceptation, not among practical historians, but among high-paced theorists, a proof that such a possibility belongs to theory and not to practice; that it is aimed at as a new grace for the all-accomplished *doctrinaire*, rather than as an object to be sought by those who seek after wisdom? (p. 90).

Our Professor is not a man of theories, but one who respects facts and deals with the realities of the world, not with the unsubstantial visions of philosophic minds. That certainly is the character he assumes, and on the whole not without good reason. But, nevertheless, on looking more carefully into his lectures, it is possible to entertain the notion that persons may disagree with him, and suspect that he has occasionally been moved more by his affections than by his reason. When we are gravely told that Dr. Hook was "one of the best and greatest men that Oxford has ever produced," and again that "Leopold von Ranke is not only beyond all comparison the greatest historical scholar alive, but one of the very greatest historians that ever lived" (p. 57), we feel some difficulty in giving our perfect assent to the Professor's teaching. Some observations of a kindred character meet the reader, certainly, as he advances, and they stir up at least the feeling of wonder that they come from one who has made so many of an entirely different order. He speaks as if he thought "Hallam and Palgrave, and Kemble and Froude and Macaulay" (p. 12), not altogether safe guides to follow when they tell us the history of generations passed away, and it is quite possible to find people who will sturdily refuse to distinguish between Macaulay and Leopold von Ranke. In the fourth lecture the learned Professor takes us completely by surprise, for we there read as follows:

There were days, centuries ago, when the schoolmen fancied that they could bring into class and line all human knowledge, and encroach to some extent upon the divine, by syllogisms and conversions and oppositions. Much precious knowledge those men handed down to us with much verbiage and false logic, but even they for the most part left history alone. They ticketed every portion of man's moral anatomy. . . . They benefited mankind by exercising and training subtle wits, and they reduced dialectics, almost, we might say, logic itself, to absurdity (p. 90).

We certainly did not expect this from Dr. Stubbs. Hallam or Macaulay might have so spoken, and with consistency, but assuredly not so Dr. Stubbs. It is probably the echo of the old tradition that through him, perhaps unconsciously, has come down to us from that precious generation of boastful men to which we are indebted for that which is commonly called the revival of learning, but which in reality was the beginning of that appalling ignorance which threatens at this moment to be the dominant

power of the new civilization. Very few people know anything of the schoolmen, but the word is very frequently heard, and generally received with more or less contempt whenever it is uttered. It is not maintained, nor is it necessary to maintain, that every schoolman was a Solomon, or even a great genius; but it is possible, without the slightest risk of being considered temerarious, to refuse assent to the doctrine of the Oxford Professor, who in this matter has himself been temerarious. He charges all the schoolmen apparently with arrogance or vanity. Now, some of them were certainly men of mortified lives, perhaps all, and some of them are saints. The writings of many are known to some at least, and they are not unknown to Dr. Stubbs, who would have written more to the purpose if he had given us the name of even one schoolman who had ventured to do that which is laid to the charge of his brethren. Now the Regius Professor of Modern History is very far from being ignorant in the matter of the schoolmen, and more than this must be said of him: he has a certain admiration of them, knowing that they were men not without understanding.

I do not undervalue them [he tells us], because the great men among them were so great that even such a method did not destroy them; in reading Thomas Aquinas, for instance, one is constantly provoked to say, What could not such a mind have done if it had not been fettered by such a method! (p. 90).

The question is easily answered: it could not have given us the "Summa," and there is no evidence whatever that St. Thomas had even the slightest suspicion that he was fettered at all. If his mind was fettered by his method, the fetters were forged by himself, put on by himself and worn by himself, and that not only without inconvenience, but with incalculable advantage for all who have recourse to the books for which we are indebted to his mind and its fetters, if any existed.

This observation of the learned Professor is no doubt one hardly to be expected from him, and though it may surprise us for a moment, yet it belongs to him most properly; for, on reflection, there is nothing in it inconsistent with the principles that underlie his historical and theological opinions. He, perhaps, belongs to no party as a partisan, but he has a little leaning towards the school of the men called Ritualists rather than towards any other school among the many to which the Establishment, fruitful in sects, has hitherto produced. With him the so-called Church of England is an ancient and venerable corporation, with a majesty peculiarly its own, not subject to the Roman Pontiff—that all of us know—and never at any time subject lawfully, for the English law in ecclesiastical matters was English and national, not Roman.

We had some difficulty in trusting our own eyes when reading

this in the lectures of Dr. Stubbs. "Neither the canon law," he writes, "nor the civil law was accepted here" (p. 303). If then the canon law was not accepted in England, the Holy See had no jurisdiction in the country, for Rome has but one law, by which all churches are governed. In another place the Professor maintains this strange opinion—telling us that the Decretals "were not received in England," and immediately adding that they "continued to be the code by which English causes were decided at Rome" (p. 307). This admission destroys the Professor's opinion, for if English causes were settled in Rome according to canon law, that law must have been the sovereign law, and must have been also the law of England; for we do not appeal to a court that has no jurisdiction over the matter in dispute, or ask to have our causes decided by a law we do not acknowledge, and we may therefore say with some confidence that the English litigants who carried their causes into the Roman courts thereby confessed openly that the Roman law was also the law of England, and that they were bound by it.

It seems that so learned a man as Dr. Stubbs can be the serf of ancient prejudice even when earnestly striving to come to the knowledge of facts. He probably had some notion that his Church either was, or ought to have been, always as it is now, independent of Rome. "The independence of the Gallican Church," he writes, "turns, as an historical question, on the non-reception of Roman decrees, the acceptance of the Council of Basel, and the non-reception of portions of the Tridentine canons." . . . (p. 307). Thus independence and disobedience come together in the Professor's theory as two sisters, or rather as mother and daughter, and their hideous ugliness does not alarm him, for he goes on: "So, in England, neither the civil law nor the canon law was ever received as authoritative except educationally, and as furnishing scientific confirmation for empiric argument; or, in other words, where expressly or accidentally it agrees with the law of the land" (p. 207).

Here we have the Anglican in his proper dress. The learned Professor began by saying that neither the canon nor the civil law was accepted in England; having thus delivered himself, he then says that English causes were decided at Rome according to the canon law; but if that be so, the canon law was accepted in England. No, says the Professor, it was not, unless where "it agrees with the law of the land." This is the end of all discussion: the law of the land is above the law of God, the law of the land is supreme, and the Church is subject to the State. This is that poison of heresy which has ruined so many men, and is ruining them every day; men bow down in miserable abjection at the dictates of secular legislation, however wicked it may be, turn their

backs upon the law of God, and break it whenever it pleases them to make their own laws in direct violation of it.

The law of the land may be good, but it may also be bad. By the law of the land under Jeroboam, the son of Nabat, the people of Israel were forbidden to go to Jerusalem, whither they were bound to go, and the law of the land under Nabuchodonosor required the observance of that monarch's decree directing, under penalties, the worshipping of the golden statue; but three holy men, Sidrach, Misach, and Abdenego, having no respect for the unjust decree, were disobedient, as the priests and Levites were before them, when Jeroboam set up the golden calves in Bethel and in Dan. As it was of old, so should it be now; the law of the land can never bind any one when it is in opposition to the natural or revealed law. No State can make binding laws in contempt of the laws of God. The modern world is vicious in this that it has raised the laws of the State to an order higher in its imagination than is that to which they belong, claiming for them a respect which cannot be always due to them nor ever to some of them. They are not so sacred as people imagine, for people meditate vain things, nor are they truly revered even by those who are the most clamorous for their observance. They who urge their binding force most loudly upon others are generally the first to set them aside when they find the observance of them inconvenient to themselves. No man and no State, possessing the least sense of decency, can make laws which shall be at variance with the law of the Maker of the world. That is a truth, however, which States continually set at nought; and it is now regarded too generally all over the world a sufficient answer to all objections, that so and so is the law of the land. Hence the anarchy in opinions and the anarchy in government; for the fundamental conditions of morals are not respected, and so we have for a principle, not to be disputed, the modern notion prevailing over nearly all Europe—the supremacy of the popular will, which is simply and utterly a principle of perpetual change, destructive in the end of the notions of right and wrong, which are the natural endowments of man. It is not pleasant to find in Dr. Stubbs a leaning towards the chaotic opinions of the day, and a certain sympathy with lawless men, though now they are dead and buried. If ever there was a lawless man that man was Henry II., of whom St. Bernard said to the King of France when he was yet but a boy: "From the devil he came and to the devil he will go." *

* Giral. Cambr. de Instruct. Princip. (p. 161). "De diabolo venit et ad diabolum ibit" notans tam patris tyrannidem præteritam quam filii præventuram, amorumque cruentam in Christos Domini, Sagiensem, scilicet, episcopum, et Cantuariæ archiepiscopum atrocitatem detestandam.

The Oxford Professor, it seems, thinks well of this diabolic scion, and has spoken very highly of him, almost affectionately; there were "signs of general enlightenment" about him, and he "was neither the mere voluptuary that his enemies represented him, nor merely the man of business that his more lasting works prove him to have been" (p. 121). There can be no doubt whatever that Henry II. was an "enlightened" man according to the accepted meaning of that word in our day, for he hated the Pope; but we did not expect to hear from Dr. Stubbs that "he took an independent line in religious toleration, and refused to persecute" (p. 120). Certainly in these days the king's notion of toleration is different from the notion that prevails among the enlightened. These people, perhaps, will think the king extremely tolerant when he drove out of the realm all the relations and friends of St. Thomas of Canterbury, sparing neither young nor old, not even the mother with her new-born babe.* Not able to lay hands on the archbishop himself, he had recourse to meanness and malignant cruelty in order to embitter the exile of the man whom he once regarded as a friend.

As it was a bishop and his friends that suffered, a cultivated and enlightened age may think that the king did well, so we must let it pass and go on to another transaction some two years later. There came to England at that time a troop of German heretics—who perverted, however, only one woman—some thirty men and women, and the king heard of them. As he was at war with the archbishop and rebellious to the Pope it was profitable for him to preserve or obtain a reputation for orthodoxy. He summoned his bishops together, and having ascertained from them that these miserable Teutons were really heretics, he had them branded on the forehead and severely scourged in public. He then exposed them to the risk of dying of hunger, by commanding his subjects to give them neither food nor shelter.† This was the work of the ruthless persecutor of St. Thomas, who has obtained from Dr. Stubbs the title of "champion of literary culture." No doubt the distinction is perfectly well deserved.

* S. Thom. Cant. (vol. i. p. 47), Rolls Publications. Non infanti vagienti, non decrepito seni, non in puerperio decubanti mulieri parcere. Processit ulterius furor immanis, et piis auribus horrenda crudelitas. Nam compulsi sunt adulti jurare quod contristandi causa suum archiepiscopum expeterent.

† Gulielm. Neubrig. Hist. Rerr. Anglic. (lib. xi. c. 13, p. 134). Rolls Publications. Præcepit hæreticæ infamiæ characterem frontibus eorum inuri, et, spectante populo, virgis coercitos urbe expelli, districtè prohibens ne quis eos vel hospitio recipere, vel aliquo solatio confovere præsumeret. . . . Scissisque cingulo tenus vestibus publice cæsi et flagris resonantibus urbe ejecti, algoris intolerantia, hiems quippe erat, nemine vel exiguum misericordiæ impendente, misere interierunt.

The Emperor Julian was great in literature ; before him was Nero, a man of refined taste and an accomplished musician, but nevertheless guilty of arson and murder.

The learned dissertations of the Oxford Professor are marred by this praise of a tyrant, however cultivated, and by his teaching about the acceptance of the civil law and the canon law in England. The non-reception of the latter, could it be proved, would minister a grim joy to many an Anglican, for it would be to them a sign of their national independence and of the usurpations of the Pope, which their ancestors had unwillingly endured because of their ignorance of their rights and liberties. Dr. Stubbs probably has some fellow-feeling with these men, and would probably be glad himself to discover that the Pope had no jurisdiction in England, or failing in this, that he had no right to it when he had it, England being self-sufficient and self-contained.

If it be asked who drew up the charters of the Saxon kings, it is not easy to make answer without admitting the existence of lawyers. There must have been lawyers in England as well as on the Continent, and they must have had the same training, otherwise, how are we to account for the general resemblance of all the documents of the same age ? There was no training possible for them except in the law schools of the fallen empire and in the formulæ of the Roman courts of law, there being no other system of law so universally acknowledged as the law of old Rome, purged in some degree of its pagan miseries. After the conquest of the country by William of Normandy, the lawyers, as soon as the sword was returned to the scabbard, if not before, found occupation for themselves, and the most remarkable among them, the most unscrupulous and the most prosperous for a time—he climbed up till he sat in Durham on the throne of St. Cuthbert—was Renouf Flembord.* William of Malmesbury † says that he was so skilful a pleader that no one could withstand him, and Ordericus Vitalis describes him as a man who would have been a merciless proconsul in old Rome if he had lived there. This was the man who established that practice of the kings

* St. Anselm knew him well, and the meek and charitable saint has given this account of him. (Epp. lib. iv. ep. 2). Quando de Anglia exivi erat ibi quidam professione sacerdos, non solum publicanus, sed etiam publicanorum princeps infamissimus nomine Renulphus, propter crudelitatem similem flammæ comburenti pronomine Flambardus; cujus flamma qualis sit non in Anglia solum, sed in exteris regnis longe lateque innotuit. Hunc rex nuper defunctus contra voluntatem omnium religiosorum, contra omnem justitiam ad episcopatum sine omni ejus correctione sublimare me exulante præsumpsit.

† Gest. Regg. Anglor. (lib. ii. ss. 314, p. 497), Ed. Hardy—Invictus caudicus, et tum verbis tum rebus immodicus.

of England which they considered so advantageous to the Exchequer, the seizure of the revenues of vacant churches.*

In the reign of Stephen another great lawyer appears, Aubrey de Vere,† who, when the king had imprisoned Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, defended the act on the doctrine of Lanfranc. Roger, he said, was in gaol not as the bishop but as the king's minister, receiving the king's pay. Roger the bishop, however, denied the fact; he was neither the king's servant he said, nor in the king's pay. Aubrey de Vere was a man with few scruples, and, moreover, he was not the only lawyer at this time, for the clergy generally gave very serious attention to legal procedure in the reign of William Rufus,‡ and now, under Stephen, Vacarius lectured in Oxford for a time on the civil law. But, as it was a new learning in that University, there was opposition made to the professor, and King Stephen ordered him to refrain from lecturing. In that confusion people even burnt the books which, according to the commandments of the king, no one was allowed to retain. Nevertheless, the study of the civil law was not abandoned; on the contrary, men gave themselves up to the new learning of Vacarius with greater fervour than before.§ It was a very profitable study also.

Gervase, of Canterbury, in his *Life of Theobald the archbishop*, says that lawyers and the Roman civil law came to England for the first time in the reign of Stephen. That must mean that law was taught systematically by professors, and not learned by practice in the courts; for it cannot mean that the Roman law was never known before in the country, which had been divided into provinces, and was moreover the third diocese under the prefect of Gaul. The five provinces into which the country was divided made one diocese. Each province had its governor under the vicar, who resided in York, and received his instructions from his superior, the prefect of the pretorium of Gaul.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the Roman law kept its hold on the country during the Danish incursions and the more successful invasions of the Saxon, for in those days there was little or no law in the land; but it is certain that from the days of the Conqueror the way was open for it again through his legislation. It is openly taught in the reign of Stephen, and is

* Orderic. : *Hist. Eccles.* (lib. viii. c. 8). *Hujus consilio juvenis rex, morientibus prælatis, ecclesias cum possessionibus olim sibi datis invasit.*

† Malmesbur. : *Hist. Novell.* (lib. ii. ss. 23), Ed. Hardy. Albericus quidam de Ver homo causarum varietatibus exercitatus.

‡ *Id. Gest Reg.* (lib. iv. ss. 314). *Nullus clericus nisi caudicius.*

§ Polycrat. (lib. viii. c. 22). *Ne quis etiam libros retineret edicto regio prohibitum est, et Vacario nostro indictum silentium, sed Deo faciente, eo magis virtus legis invaluit, quo eam amplius nitebatur impietas infirmare.*

found to be the inspiring principle of Henry II., when he made his attack on the jurisdiction of the Pope, by his attempt to regulate the order in which appeals should be made in the prosecution of ecclesiastical suits.

The Roman law was undoubtedly received in this country—there was no help for it. The lawyers had no other system of law by which certain cases could be determined or justice done. Selden, in his dissertation upon *Fleta*, and Dr. Duck, in his book on the use and authority of the civil law, trace the influence of the old Roman law in the administration of the realm. It was very natural it should be so, for there was no parliament to make laws, and the king was too busy with other matters to do anything but issue his mandates. He must have trusted his lawyers, who only had any knowledge of jurisprudence, to draw up the decrees he sanctioned, whose legal training was founded on the *Pandects*, and previously on the Code of Theodosius the Second.

The civil law was not only taught at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but was, and even now is supposed to be, the very law administered in the Chancellor's Court there. It made an entrance into those great schools very early, and has successfully resisted the efforts made to turn it out; it keeps its place even now in theory. Ignorance of its value and neglect of its principles have done it more harm than the violence of King Stephen. Even to this day the Queen's Advocate is considered to be learned in it, and his opinion is always asked in questions about the rights of nations, because he is known to be able to instruct the Government by his legal erudition, which is believed to have been evolved out of a profound study of the *Pandects* and the Code.

It is very true that the Roman civil law has never obtained in England so largely as on the Continent, where it never ceased to be in force and observance more or less. The heathens who became Christians under the jurisdiction of the "*Præfectus Prætorio*" of Gaul, had been brought up under the Roman law, and after baptism continued under it. They respected it in everything not forbidden or made unlawful to the Christian. It had formed the manners and customs of the people, but these manners and customs could not be laid aside at once, and in fact were not laid aside everywhere for some generations, even in matters where they should have been abandoned at once. But the Roman law was not all bad, and good Christians had no difficulty in living under it. It was often the sole protection of their property and persons. Thus in the sixth century we find Remigius, for seventy-four years bishop of Rheims, making his last will and testament in solemn form, according to the Roman law, respecting therein,

to secure its observance, the law of the *Prætor*.* Again, another bishop, St. Haidwindus, of Le Mans, had respect to the same legislation, making his will so as to be valid according to the civil law.† The old legislation about wills accommodated itself to the Christian law, and even bishops acknowledged it.

The Romans abandoned this country early in the fifth century, but while they were here their laws prevailed, as they did in France. The country was a diocese governed from York, but the administrator in York was subordinate to, and under the jurisdiction of, the "*Præfectus Prætorio*" of Gaul, whose residence was first at Trier, then at Arles. There is no reason for believing that this country was not then subject to the Roman law. On the contrary, there is reason for believing that the Roman law came in with the Roman legions,‡ as did also Roman manners and Roman culture, not always to the advantage of the inhabitants, who too easily learned the ways of their masters, and perhaps, like over-zealous novices, went beyond their rule. If the law of England be uniform, founded on one principle, as perhaps Dr. Stubbs would maintain—it is certainly consistent with his principle to maintain it—we have then to account for the Court of Chancery, the process of which is altogether different from that of the Court of the King's Bench. The Chancellor never listened to a witness. The Chief Justice required the presence of witnesses, and would settle no dispute without a jury, while in the Court of Chancery a juror was utterly unknown. The Chief Justice of the King's Bench was sometimes a soldier, and most likely made much of the law that he administered, declaring it to be the customary law of the land. No one would venture to contradict him, for he had armed men at his beck and call to execute any decision he might make; nor was it settled that the Court of Chancery was the higher Court till the reign of James I.

The Court of Chancery was originally a court where the civil law was really dominant; it was the creation of ecclesiastics trained in the schools of civil law and of canon law. The blessed Thomas More was probably the third layman that ever sat in it as Chancellor, perhaps the first learned only in the common law.

There were other courts of justice in the land where the common law was not administered. The Court of the Admiralty is or was

* *Terrason, Jurisprudentiæ Romanæ Monumenta* (p. 90). *Testamentum meum condidi jure Prætorio*.

† *Ibid.* p. 96. *Quod testamentum si quo casu jure civili aut Prætorio vel alicujus novæ legis interventu valere nequiverit.*

‡ *Cornel. Tacit. Agricol. Vit. c. 21. Inde etiam habitûs nostri honor, et frequens toga: paullatimque discessum ad delirimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea, et conviviûm elegantiam: idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.*

perhaps a very important court, for it administered justice not only to Englishmen, but also to foreigners. That justice must have been grounded on a law, or principles of law, acknowledged by the foreigner as well as by ourselves, and we learn from Godolphin that the Roman or civil law was the "law allowed, received, and owned as the law of the Admiralty of England."* It was the civil law that was administered in the high courts of the Marshal and the Constable. Those courts were lawful courts, and the law they professed was allowed as in the Court of the Admiralty, and had even the sanction of Parliament, which enacted (1 Hen. IV. c. 14) "that all the appeals to be made of things done out of the realm shall be tried and determined before the Constable and the Marshal of England for the time being."

In the reign of Richard II. the jurisdiction of the Crown was put in commission, the king assenting, or, if not assenting, compelled to acknowledge himself subject to the control of eleven commissioners. The authority of these commissioners was disputed, and they charged the disputants with high treason; these disputants were the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, and the late Chancellor Michael de la Pole, and Nicolas Brambre, an alderman of London. They were to be tried before the High Court of Parliament, and that High Court, before proceeding to extremities, demanded the opinion of certain men learned in the law concerning the sufficiency of the charges for the purpose of inflicting the punishment of treason.

Among those whom the Parliament consulted on this occasion were the "sages of the civil law." With these in consultation were the "justices and serjeants, and other sages of the law of the realm."† The answer on the part of these lawyers was that the charges were insufficient by either law—that is, the law of the land and the law laid down in the Pandects and the Code; the High Court of Parliament thereupon decreed that as there was no law by which it could punish these unhappy men, it would proceed against them, having the power, "according to the law and course of Parliament," which is a law that nobody has ever been able to understand.

There is an apparent unfairness in the way the Oxford Professor treats this question. He does not deny, but constantly admits, the influence of the civil law; he goes so far even as to say that the country could not have been governed without it. "In the infancy of international law"—these are his words—"and the administration of both Admiralty and martial law, the English

* "A View of the Admiral Jurisdiction." Ch. x. p. 123. London. 1685.

† Rot. Parliam. 11 Richard II. (vol. iii. p. 236). Sages du ley de roialme et auxiut les Sages de la ley civil.

jurists had to go beyond their insular practice, and to no other source could they apply themselves" (p. 309). That other source was the Roman civil law, of which he had said before that it was not accepted in England. The Courts of the Admiral and of the Marshal were English courts, and dispensed justice according to law, which law England had certainly accepted and observed.

The Court of Chancery was a court not of common law, but in reality of the civil law. Its judges, with few exceptions, were for centuries civil lawyers or canonists, or both, and the processes of the court were processes of the Roman law. Moreover, it may be contended for with great if not perfect certainty that the court is, or rather was, a court the origin of which is due to the edicts of the Prætor. Not, of course, a court erected or founded by any Prætor, but a court for the administration of justice on the principles embodied in those memorable edicts. It could hardly have been otherwise; if it was found necessary to moderate the unbending severity of the common law, and avoid the infliction of the greatest wrong by the dispensation of justice in its strictest form, the judges appointed for that end found principles and a law ready at hand for the purpose, in the doctrines of which law they had been trained themselves, as the Professor readily admits.

There is a certain vagueness in the language of the Professor throughout his lectures whenever he touches the independency, religious and political, of England; perhaps it might be said that there is even inaccuracy in it. Thus he says of the civil law, that it was "rejected not only by the stubborn obscurantism of Stephen, but by the bright and sagacious intellect of Henry II." (p. 303). Stephen certainly suspended Professor Vacarius, but he made use of Aubrey de Vere, who was a lawyer; and Henry II., as was said before, attempted to bring one part of the civil law into the law of the land. It is not easy to explain how matters could have been ordered otherwise. Englishmen went abroad, and foreigners probably came to England; the government of the country was carried on by lawyers, who were employed also in making treaties with other governments which employed lawyers in the same way for the same ends. These lawyers could not have understood one another unless they had some principles in common, but these principles were for many generations drawn from the Theodosian Code and the Pandects.

It could not be otherwise. The Romans had been, as pagans, masters of the greater part of Europe, and imposed their laws upon the tribes they had conquered, and exacted tributes from kings, being feared wherever they were known.* Germany,

* 1 Machab. viii. 12. Quicumque audiebant nomen eorum, timebant eos.

Spain, France and England had to accept the law of the triumphant Prætor. The great Papinian, with Ulpian and Paulus for his assessors, is said to have held his court in York, and we may be quite certain that even his *obiter dicta* were very carefully respected, when he uttered them from his tribunal, not less than the decisions of Geta,* the younger son of the Emperor, who had both the judicial and the political administration of the diocese in his hands by grant of Septimius Severus his father.

There may be some pleasure of a certain kind in the indulgence of the delusion that this country was independent of other countries, possessing everything necessary for its own well-being, and evolving its own laws out of its own consciousness and unique wisdom. There is also one advantage in it for certain persons; it prepares the way for the defence they make of their schism. This is one use to which these lectures of the Oxford Professor has been put. He is considered to have revealed himself in these lectures as a sound divine, able to repel the aggressions of the Pope, though it is very doubtful whether he ever imagined that he was rendering that service to his fellow-countrymen, obstinate in their error, refusing to be cured.† The "law of the land" is a very fine phrase, and there is a sound in it, when properly pronounced, that reminds us, by the contrast, of another phrase, somewhat more potent: "Rome has spoken." The latter is the word of the Pope, the former the word of the Antipope; thus another form of "non serviam," "I will not obey;" the fit expression of rebellious man fallen from his high estate.

Let us see now how he treats the canon law. Having said that, like the civil law, England rejected it, he then proceeds to admit that the Decretals "continued to be the code by which English causes were decided at Rome, and began to be an integral part of the education of English canonists" (p. 307). Certainly, if English canonists were educated in the Decretals they could hardly learn this independent English canon law to any good purpose, or use it when they litigated the questions entrusted to them. Their learning came out of the law of the Pope, and they must have held that law to be law for them and their clients. He admits, and he cannot help admitting, the influence of the law, but he denies its binding force. "Of course," he says, "very much of the spirit of the Sixth and the Clementines found its way into England, but the statute law was increasing in vigour, the kings were increasing in vigilance" (p. 308). That is, the canon law was checked by the Acts of Parliament and the

* Herodian. Histor. (lib. iii. c. 14). τὸν μὲν νεώτερον τῶν υἱῶν τὸν Γέταν καλούμενον, καταλιπὼν ἐν τῷ ὑπο Ῥωμαίους ἔθνει δικάσωντά τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διοικήσαντα πολιτικά τῆς ἀρχῆς, δὸς αὐτῷ συνεδρους.

† Jerem. xv. 18. Plaga mea desperabilis renuit curari.

tyranny of the kings. The Professor clearly applauds the successful rebellion, and then calls the canons "foreign law." That is nothing but the repetition of the old cry: "No foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm." We know that the statement was not and is not correct.

Again, it is "the law of the land," that is, the supreme and perfect law, Acts of Parliament. The Act, for the regulation of public worship,* the cherished work of two Protestant archbishops, is the law of the land, but the friends and admirers of Dr. Stubbs pay it but scanty reverence, they are loud in their clamour against it, and hate it as men ought to hate sin. But it is as good law as the law of *præmunire*.

Now if anything not made in England ever came into England and made itself at home in England, notwithstanding every hindrance and annoyance, it was the canon law, the Decretals, the Sixth, the Clementines, and the Extravagantes, both the *Communes* and those of John XXII. They came each in its turn, in spite of Acts of Parliament and of kings, and sometimes even with the help of kings. The canon law came in with the Catholic faith, and was at home here when the Roman legions kept order in the land. It came in again to the Saxon territories with St. Augustin of Canterbury, who sent his doubts and difficulties for solution to the Pope, precisely as all bishops are doing to-day in all parts of the earth; for the canon law is the Gospel of our Lord, formed into a rule for the outward ordering of the lives of men. A very considerable portion of the canon law was made really for England itself. Disputes in this country were finally litigated in Rome, and there determined by the Pope. That decision of his Holiness was a declaration of the law; and the Decretals abound in decisions made for the settlement of English questions, but more especially for the correction of English manners. It must be admitted that these sentences of his Holiness were accepted in England, for it is not reasonable to suppose that our forefathers incurred great expenses to obtain a decree which they never intended to respect. One of the popular complaints against the Pope is, and was, that he plundered the world by his exactions of money; but somehow or other, in spite of English hatred of losing money, the money went to Rome precisely as money goes to-day to Lincoln's Inn and the Temple; men will quarrel and trespass on the rights of their neighbours.

"Every great canonist," says our Professor, "throughout the

* 37 & 38 Vict. c. 85.

Middle Ages in England was also a great civilian" (p. 302). Surely there is nothing wonderful in this, nor was it peculiar to England. Every great canonist, not only in England, but everywhere else, and not in the Middle Ages only, but in every age, is and was learned in the Pandects and the Code; some of them have written voluminous treatises on the differences of the two laws, their irreconcilable contradictions. There is also current among them a saying belonging to a class called Brocards, which accepts and perpetuates the fact which Dr. Stubbs seems to have regarded as peculiar to the Middle Ages and to England, "*Canonista sine legibus parum valet.*"

The friar minor, John of Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury in the thirteenth century, understood this truth, and made a law to enforce it. In some measure, perhaps, he was not able to do all he desired, for men in his day, as in ours, were not in love with laborious studies, preferring immediate profit to a reputation for learning which could not be attained without years of hard work. The archbishop, careful about the administration of justice in the lower courts of his province, made a decree at Lambeth in 1281, forbidding any one to practise as an advocate in the ecclesiastical courts who had not carefully attended lectures in canon and civil law at least for three years before his admission to plead in court.* The old custom required five years.

Lyndwood, in his commentary on this decree of the English archbishop, cannot hide his dislike of it. He prefers the retention of the old practice of five years to this mutilation of legal studies. He knew of no reason for the archbishop's decree, but that of his willingness to allow uninstructed advocates to plead in the inferior courts. In the superior courts, where causes of greater importance were litigated, Lyndwood required greater knowledge of law than could be gained in three years, he being himself a learned lawyer and a judge.

Our Professor makes another remarkable observation, but with some diffidence: "I think I am right in repeating that it was mainly as a branch of church law that the civil law was studied at all; but I do not mean that it was so exclusively" (p. 309). The civil law was studied certainly by the canonists, and their study of it was necessary as well as useful; but surely it never entered into the head of canonist or civilian that the Pandects were a branch of ecclesiastical law. The civil law is really the enemy of the canon in many ways, and that fact alone is sufficient to explain why the canonists studied it. They studied it as a general in the field studies the movements of his adversary, and

* "*Wilkins. Concil.*" ii. 61. *Statuimus, ut nullus de cætero permittatur advocacionis officium publice exercere, nisi prius ad minus, per triennium, audiverit jus canonicum et civile cum debita diligentia.*

the meaning of them, that he may order his own movements to greater advantage.

There is also another reason for that study. There was in the world, before the Incarnation of our Blessed Lord, a strong and resolute empire with laws, judges, and settled processes of its courts, long established and well known. When the first Christians shrank from suing one another in the secular courts, before pagan judges, they held their own courts in their own assemblies, reverencing the directions of St. Paul,* but they could not hold those courts without adopting the forms of the courts with which they were familiar. With the growth of the canon law those forms lived on and were in many ways most useful; they were simple, they were also effective, but as they were not the inventions of the canonists—for the canonists found them in possession—it was necessary to study the law with which they came, at least some of them, into the world. Moreover, much of the civil law rests directly on the law of nature; and the formula by which the precepts of that law are expressed are of great service for their conciseness and the fulness of meaning laid up in them. Lyndwood † himself has not omitted to justify the study of the civil law, even on the ground of the references to it in the gloss, and the necessity of having a perfect knowledge of canon law, which is not attainable without the knowledge of the civil law as well, at least in some considerable measure.

Now the Archbishop, John of Peckham, required the advocates who pleaded in the ecclesiastical courts to hear lectures for three years at least from professors of the two laws. There can be no question made as to his meaning when he speaks of the civil law; but if we are to trust our Professor when he says that the canon law was not received in England, we must understand the phrase "canon law" used by the archbishop in a sense wholly different from that which it bears everywhere else. It is quite impossible to admit that the archbishop did not understand those words as everybody understands them. He therefore required the advocates to learn the canon law of Rome, not local canons only, and if they were to learn that law, it must have been that they might use it; surely that is of itself conclusive that the canon law was received and observed in England, and was as much the law of England as any Act of Parliament.

Dr. Gibson, who was a Protestant bishop, first of Lincoln then

* 1 Cor. vi. 4. *Sæcularia igitur judicia si habueritis : contemptibiles, qui sunt in ecclesia, illos constituite ad judicandum.*

† *De Procurat. c. veloces. v. et civile.* Puto quod sufficit ut talis audiverit jus civile secundum remissiones quæ ponuntur in Glossa juris canonici, et sine quibus jura canonica, præsertim in judicialibus non possunt bene intelligi nec sciri.

of London, compiled, and in the year 1713 published, his "Codex Juris Anglicani," and therefore obtained from the Whigs and Dissenters who were endowed with any wit the distinction of being known as Dr. Codex. In this compilation of the ecclesiastical laws of England, we are told in the preface (p. xiv.) of "the light that may be had from the 'Body of the Canon Law,' which, till the time of the Reformation, remained a rule to the Church of England, and being received by long practice remains so still, as to such parts of it as are not inconsistent with the laws of the land." The law of the land has wonderful virtues.

Lord Stowell is perhaps a better authority for this than Dr. Gibson, for he was a lawyer of great learning and judge in the Consistory Court of London. Notwithstanding his Protestantism, which was strong, he acknowledged more than once in his judgments, given in court, that the canon law was in force in England as it was in all Europe. In *Dalrymple v. Dalrymple* he says: "That the canon law . . . is the basis of the marriage law of Scotland as it is of the marriage law of all Europe,"* and England is in Europe, and marriages were solemnized in it.

A better authority still, perhaps, is the judgment of the Barons of the Exchequer in *Stavely v. Ullithorn*. There "it was held, *per curiam*, clearly that the Council of Lateran, which freed that Order [Cistercian] from payment of tithes, was a general law received in England . . . for this Council is as forcible as an Act of Parliament which concludes all parties: and the Court were also of opinion, that if there were any such agreement for payment of tithes before the Council, that yet this Council, as a general law, which includes all men's consent, had dissolved it, and the lands were discharged."†

Until within a few years there was no denial of the observance and obligation of the canon law in England, independently of the assent to it of kings, lords and commons. People were content with the usual explanation that it was an effect of Papal tyranny to which nobody made either resistance or objection. But now we have a new theory; the country was independent and dealt with the Pope as with an equal, accepted his decrees if it approved of them, and rejected them if it did not like them. Dr. Stubbs with his great learning has played the game of these new men with new doctrines. It is perhaps not a mere guess only to charge him with the authorship of the "Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Constitution and Working of

* Haggard, ii. 81.

† Hardres. Reports of Cases in the Exchequer. Temp. Carol. II. p. 101.

the Ecclesiastical Courts." There at p. 17 may be read this, the italics are ours :

But the canon law of Rome, although always regarded as of great authority in England, *was not held to be binding on the courts*. No new Code was imposed at the Conquest or later. The laws of the Church of England from the Conquest were, as before, the traditional church law developed by the legal and scientific ability of its administrators, and occasionally amended by the constitutions of successive archbishops, the canons of national councils, and the sentences or authoritative answers to questions delivered by the Pope.

If the Professor did not himself write that report, the writer made use, not only of his learning, but of his words ; for among the historical appendices there are five furnished by him, and the passage now quoted may be found almost unchanged in the first of them (p. 25). There, too, the Professor asserts that the Decretals of Gregory IX., with other books of the "law, were not authoritative."

Then, admitting the opinion of the Oxford Professor and his brother commissioners, we come to this : That the Pope had no authority in point of law, that is, had no jurisdiction in England. The English bishops consulted him from time to time—that is confessed—and he gave his advice or solution of the doubt, and the bishops accepted his answer for what it was worth in their judgment, and our lawyers made use of his answers in their discussions and pleadings. That was, according to Dr. Stubbs, the relation of England to the Holy See.

For our part we should say that such an explanation of notorious facts was not the best, if a celebrated heresiarch in the fourteenth century had not anticipated the Professor on this point. William of Ockham, of the Grey Friars, having fallen away from the truth, laboured with all the strength of his great powers to exalt the State above the Church, and to make the Pope the slave of his subjects ; in short, a constitutional sovereign, reigning not governing. In the course of his rebellion he had to give account of certain facts which were fatal to his new doctrines, and among these was the deposition of Childeric by the Pope Zacharias. To this William of Ockham* replied, by saying that the Franks, in a fit of humility doubting their own judgment in that matter, consulted the Pope because they thought he was a wiser man than any of them. They asked him if they could

* Octo. Quæstt. qu. ii. c. 8. Illi igitur Franci dubii forsitan de propria potestate Papam tanquam sapientiores quam ipsi essent seu haberent—nondum erat studium Parisiis—consulebant et interrogabant an eis secundum Deum liceret suum regem deponere, Nostris autem temporibus quidam de potestate sua nullatenus dubitantes regem suum deposuerunt, Papa nullatenus requisito.

lawfully take Childeric down from the throne, and they asked him that question because there was no university then in Paris at the time. According to the rebel friar it was the dearth of learned and wise men that determined the Franks to go with their difficulty and the scruple of conscience to the Holy See. He also adds that in his day people got rid of a king without scruples and without giving any trouble at all to the Pope, and he does not censure the practice. As it was in the days of William of Ockham so is it in ours; there are no people now so ignorant of its rights as not to know that kings have none, and some of their enlightenment is due to the sophistries of the unhappy friar whom John XXII. has branded for ever with the name of heresiarch.*

If the canon law was not in force in England down to the reign of Henry VIII., it would be at least interesting to learn how it came to pass that the Archbishops of Canterbury were *ex officio* legates of the Holy See,† and proud of the honour; jealous also of the legates *a latere*, whom the Popes sent to England in times of trouble, but with greater powers and more extensive jurisdiction. If the archbishops were legates by the law of the land, perhaps the law can be brought forth into the light of day, and even then there will be this further difficulty to meet. The law of the land does not prevail beyond the boundaries, and yet this law, if it existed, had such marvellous might as to compel the Pope, who generally lived in Rome, to give some of his jurisdiction to the Archbishop of Canterbury. But if the law of the land has nothing to do with the matter—as certainly it has not—the Archbishops of Canterbury were legates of the Pope, by grants from the Pope, and therefore the law of the Pope—the canon law—must have been of force here, accepted, acknowledged, and obeyed. It was not accepted merely as good advice, but respected as the will of the superior who had the right to command, and who did command; the authority and jurisdiction of his legate was never doubted.

It is admitted both in the lectures and in the Report of the Commissioners already referred to, that Englishmen fell under the influence of the canon and civil law, and that the education of their lawyers was a good deal directed in the principles of these laws; surely the inference to be drawn from that admission ought to be more than this which Dr. Stubbs allows—namely, that the lawyers had been trained in some measure in a system of law not

* Martene et Durand. Thes. Nov. Anecd. ii. 802. Guillelmum quoque de Okam Anglicum ordinis fratrum minorum hæresiarcham,

† St. Anselm, Epp. lit. iv. ep. 2. De legatione Romana super regnum Angliæ quam ipsius regni homines asseverant ab antiquis temporibus usque ad nostrum tempus ecclesiam Cantuariensem tenuisse.

the law of the land. But the inference thus drawn is against the facts, for the Professor himself has confessed that the Court of Admiralty and of the Arches administered law which was not made in England, and yet they are English courts with jurisdiction in England over the Queen's subjects in the proper matter of their resort. Nevertheless the Professor and his fellow-commissioners maintain quite calmly that the canon law was never accepted in this land. The marvel is the greater when we remember that one of the commissioners was judge of the Court of Arches, another one of the judges of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Courts, and had been for some years official Principal and Dean of the Court of *St. Maria de Arcubus*. It may be convenient and even necessary now for Anglicans to maintain all that the Professor teaches them, but that cannot change the facts. The law of the Pope had its course in the kingdom once; it was law in the kingdom, not because Parliament and the Crown accepted it, but because it was the law of one who had the right to make laws for every Christian man. At one time it was not doubted, and even at another time, when it became convenient to do so, it was not denied that the canon law had been for ages in force in the country. It was the pleasure of Henry VIII. once to require an oath of all his subjects—the penalty of refusing to take it being death as a traitor—to be obedient to him in all things. This he embodied in an Act of Parliament (35 Henry VIII. c. i.), and on oath every one was to say that he or she did “freely and clearly renounce, relinquish, and forsake that pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction both of the See and Bishop of Rome, and of all other foreign Powers.” It seems from this that Henry VIII. admitted the evidence in the country of the jurisdiction of the Pope. But jurisdiction is much more than the authoritative answer of a wise and good man whom the bishops might consult when they were in difficulties and humble. Henry VIII. certainly at one time believed that the Pope had jurisdiction even over him, and that the canon law was in force in England without respect to the royal authority and assent.

This is not all that is surprising in the lectures and the Report which the commissioners accepted and made to her Majesty. “*Abyssus abyssum invocat* ;” there are unknown depths in the sea of heresy. We read in the Report as follows :

The canons passed in legatine councils under Otho and Othobon, ratified by the national church under Archbishop Peckham (p. 18).

In the first appendix to the Report of the commissioners we have the following account, in the words of Dr. Stubbs, of the decrease of the two cardinals, Otho and Othobon :

These canons, which might possibly be treated as in themselves

wanting the sanction of the national church, were ratified in councils held by Peckham (p. 25).

In the Oxford lectures we have this :

The constitutions of Othobon, which were confirmed by Peckham at Lambeth, and which, with those of Otho, were the first codified and glossed portions of the national church law (p. 308).

The independence of the Church of England is the doctrine that underlies this extravagant statement thrice made, and it is made for the purpose of maintaining that doctrine, which, if made good, helps, as people vainly think, to justify the schism and the present condition of the Protestant community. The Grey friar, John of Peckham, whom the Black friars accused of pomposity and of a readiness to contradict the Thomists, was a bold man and a resolute archbishop. Though he excommunicated St. Thomas of Hereford, he never dreamt of confirming or ratifying the constitutions of the two cardinal deacons, as Dr. Stubbs maintains. He knew his place and his rights too well to sit in judgment on the legates of the Pope. We might go further and say that there was neither bishop nor priest in England who would have dared to ratify the constitutions of Otho and Othobon during the whole of the thirteenth century. The Archbishop of Canterbury was a very great and powerful prelate—nor did the dignity lose its lustre in the hands of Peckham—but no Archbishop of Canterbury, who valued his soul's health, would have ventured to ratify legatine constitutions. These were constitutions to be observed with reverence, not confirmed by a subject or even modified.

That which Peckham did was this: In Lambeth, in the year 1281, he held a council, and in that council he published anew the constitutions of the two legates which had been already published, as he says distinctly, and at the same time made a decree that they were to be observ'd for the future without fail.* It is a plain confession that the constitutions were the law of the land, but that they had not been duly respected. Again at Lambeth in the next year, namely 1282,† the archbishop had the constitutions of Othobon read—not of his own proper movement, but out of obedience to the mandate of the cardinal who had ordered his constitutions to be read, every word of them, by the two archbishops and the bishops every year in their synods.‡ These

* Wilkins, Concil. ii. p. 42. Constitutiones Ottonis et Ottoboni, dudum legatorum in Anglia, in conciliis per eos celebratis promulgatas innovavit, et in posterum inviolabiliter observandas fore decrevit.

† *Ibid.* p. 51.

‡ Constit. Othoboni. Cap. *Honoris*. Præcipimus . . . ut omnia statuta hæc, quæ in hoc nostro concilio sunt promulgata in scriptis habeant, et ipsi archiepiscopi et episcopi eadem in synodis suis annis singulis de verbo ad verbum perlegi faciant diligenter.

constitutions were not laws made by the English bishops, but laws made by the legates of the Pope with his authority, and thus so far was Peckham from confirming or ratifying them that he confessed himself bound to observe them as the orders of his superior. Equally startling is the following passage in the lectures, and to be found also nearly word for word in the Report and the Appendix in the places already referred to. Thus speaks the Oxford Professor :

In the reign of Henry V. William Lyndwood, the Dean of the Arches, collected, arranged, and annotated the accepted constitutions of the Church of England in his *Provinciale*, which, with the collections of John of Ayton, generally found in the same volume, became the authoritative canon law of the realm (pp. 308, 309).

If this be accurately told we must suppose that in the reign of Henry V. there was a great and notable change in the administration of the church, seeing that it became then possessed of a new code of laws ; for the words of the Professor are (p. 325), "The canon law as drawn up by Lyndwood," and that canon law "authoritative."

Again, if the constitutions were already, as the Professor calls them, the "accepted constitutions," it could not be said of them that they "became" the canon law of the realm, seeing that they were already law. Moreover, the reason why Lyndwood annotated them was, in all probability, that very fact: that they were the law. Lyndwood and John of Ayton gave no sort of authority whatever to the canons, any more than Blackstone gave to the statutes he explained in his Commentaries.

That which Lyndwood did was this: he had the Decretals before him, and he made a book to resemble them as much as possible. He took passages out of the provincial constitutions, and arranged them under titles, as in the Decretals. He could not find canons enough to stand under every title that is in the Decretals, and thus his collection is smaller, but nevertheless divided, like the Decretals, into five books, and the matter of each corresponds with the order in which matters are treated in the Decretals.

But Lyndwood has omitted to annotate many of the canons of the Province then in force, at least in theory ; but nobody would say that a canon not inserted in the *Provinciale* is a canon that might be set at nought. The Dean of the Arches did not profess to annotate every canon, nor did he think that his work was anything more than the commentaries of other learned lawyers on the canons which they undertook to illustrate and explain.

This stands perfectly clear beyond the reach of doubt, seeing that we have the word of Lyndwood himself for it in the pre-

face, addressed to Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose vicar-general he was, and who, a lawyer himself, had urged Lyndwood to undertake the labour of explaining the canons, which were then, he says, not too well observed by everybody. He followed the plan of the Decretals, omitting prefaces and superfluous expressions, precisely as did St. Raymund de Pennafort, when he was employed by the Pope Gregory IX. in arranging the Decretals. As St. Raymund inserted Decretals of Gregory IX. in his compilation, so the Dean of the Arches in his inserted certain constitutions of Chichele, who had persuaded him to make the collection and to add the notes. This is told us by Lyndwood himself,* who certainly was too good a lawyer to imagine that even the "*Decanus Sanctæ Mariæ de Arcubus*" could make law either canon or civil which could have the slightest binding force on those whom laws made by higher powers could with difficulty control at all times.

John of Ayton did before Lyndwood's day that which Lyndwood did, wrote glosses on the text of the canons of the two legates Otho and Othobon; but he differed from Lyndwood in this, that he did not arrange the canons under different titles, according to their matter, as in the Decretals and in the Provinciale. He left the constitutions of the legates in the order in which they had been published, and it does not appear from anything he did or said that he had any intention of adding to the authority of the constitutions, or that they "became the authoritative canon law of the realm," because he had written glosses to explain certain words and phrases of the text.

Perhaps nothing is known of John of Ayton beyond the fact that he was a canon of Lincoln and learned in the law, which is an inference drawn by those who read his glosses, but of Lyndwood more is known. He was the Dean of the Arches to whom the Archbishop of Canterbury sent all the appeals of the province for decision, and a man before whom all the suffragans had to bow; he was practically the judge in the last resort in England, and the litigant disappointed in his court must carry his complaint to Rome. These two lawyers had no intention of forming a "code," or of doing anything as if they had authority. All the authority of their glosses resolves itself into their knowledge of the law. Lyndwood had to administer the law as he found it, he could not make it, and the law he had to administer was the law of the Pope; for his court, though a high one in England, was an inferior and subordinate tribunal, not having the power of

* *Ea quæ de ipsis utiliora fore censui, resecatis superfluis, et quibusdam ex eis abbreviatis, correcte in unum opus collegi, et sub congruentibus titulis ad instar libri Decretalium serius collocavi.*

determining finally any question, because an appeal would lie whenever the litigant, dissatisfied with the sentence, wished to carry his cause further for further discussion.

The law administered in the Arches Court was the law administered in Rome, and the processes of the court were substantially identical with those of the sovereign court in Rome. There can be no doubt in the matter. It is plainly admitted* by John of Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, saying of his own court, the Court of the Arches, that it was the servant of the court of his Holiness, to which the appeals were carried. Certainly, if any one knew the nature and functions of his court, it was that conscientious and vigilant friar who gave so much trouble to the wicked, and had his own share of trouble himself.

Schism and heresy are a disgrace, and so held to be even by those who are living in them. That is why they are so ready to adopt the very flimsiest sophistry for the maintenance of their innocence and freedom from the very greatest evil that can be the lot of a man baptized. If the Oxford Professor could show that the Pope never had any jurisdiction in England, it would be a comfort to him and all his friends. But he has not done it, and he cannot do it; for even in denying that the canon law was accepted in this country, he has to admit the existence of the episcopal and archidiaconal courts, and the small court of the Dean of St. Mary-le-Bow, who had jurisdiction over only thirteen parishes, but who, being the vicar-general of the Archbishop of Canterbury, ruled in the last resort the whole of the southern province, before whom archdeacons and bishops trembled. It would be at least interesting to know how Dr. Stubbs, denying the prevalence of the common law, can account for the existence of the Dean of the Arches, and of the great authority vested in him as the official principal of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Certainly, he cannot find any Act of Parliament to rest it on. The Dean of the Arches was not, like Lord Penzance, the produce of spite and an Act of Parliament. The statute law did not know him, any more than the common law did, except as an enemy who had come in and established himself in the land without their leave, keeping his place in spite of their sullen acquiescence.

D. L.

* Peckham Registr. Epp., Ep. 403, p. 521. *Curia nostra Cantuariensis sacrosanctæ sedis Apostolicæ, tanquam devota filia continue famulatur.*

ART. VIII.—WHERE WAS ST. PATRICK BORN?

1. *Where St. Patrick was Born.* By the Rev. COLIN C. GRANT in DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1887.
2. *Documenta de S. Patricio*, Hibernorum Apostolo, ex libro Armachano. Edidit E. HOGAN, S.J., in Universitate Catholica Dubliniensi, linguæ Hibernicæ et historiæ lector. Bruxellis. 1884.
3. *An Inquiry as to the Birthplace of St. Patrick.* By T. H. TURNER, M.A. A Paper read for the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland, and published in the *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. v. part 1. Edinburgh. 1874.
4. *Loca Patriciana.* By the Rev. J. F. SHEARMAN. Published in the *R.H.A.A.I.*, fourth series, vol. iv. No. 35, p. 435.
5. *Essays on Religion and Literature.* The Birthplace of St. Patrick. By J. CASHEL HOEY. Edited by H. E. MANNING. London.
6. *The Birthplace of St. Patrick.* By the Right Rev. P. F. MORAN, Bishop of Ossory (now Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney). DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1880.

JUST a year ago an article of mine appeared in the DUBLIN REVIEW* under the above title, with the same list of works heading it, save the additional work which now stands first. The object of my article was to show that, while St. Patrick's birthplace was in Britain, it was not in North Britain, at Alclyde. Our national apostle in his "Confession" gives indeed his birthplace, but its identification has hitherto been a puzzle to antiquarians. Some of the later Lives simply mention Alclyde as the Saint's birthplace, while the older Lives endeavour to explain rather than literally reproduce the Saint's words descriptive of his birthplace; but the explanation appears to me self-contradictory, and this, coupled with the historical incongruities attaching to Alclyde, led me, in the article referred to, to question the Alclyde theory and the arguments by which it is supported.

All that the biographers of our national Saint could spell out of his description of his birthplace is, that it was a place where Roman armies used to encamp; the most that modern historians have gathered from the description is that it was a river's mouth. These two features, so common to every part of Britain, have

* October 1886.

made it very difficult to point with any probability to any spot as his birthplace. But the several hints given in the "Confession" and in the Saint's admitted letter to Coroticus, together with the old Lives, furnish grounds for a probable opinion, amounting to a moral certainty, that the object of our inquiry is in South rather than North Britain. To prove this was the aim of my former article, whose net result may be given in my own words: "It is quite clear to my mind that Scotland or Northern Britain is not the birthplace of St. Patrick."

As I have already suggested, while our evidence has been sufficient to show in what part of Britain in general St. Patrick was born, it is almost useless in determining the precise spot, and I had on that account to speak with some hesitation. For this reason the writer whose work heads this article says: "Bath or Frome either equally suits Father Malone, who is not more particular as to a fixed place than other theorists." Now, I undertake in this article to change all this, and fix on the precise locality of the Saint's birthplace. Without anticipating the outcome of my argument, I may state that the place of which we are in quest lies some few miles, not south, as the Bath theory led us, but north of the shores of Bristol. I shall not budge one yard nearer to Caledonia; and the direction I take shall be guided by the Saint's own words.

Even independently of the Saint's express words in direct reference to his birthplace, we might with much probability infer that it could not be in Caledonia or Alclyde.

Firstly, he tells us in his "Confession" that he forfeited his nobility, and that his father was a Decurion. Now a Decurion formed one of the Senate. The colonies or municipal towns only had the privilege of a Senate—the power of adopting the imperial laws in the fullest manner, or enacting their own. The Decurions formed the Corporation of the municipal towns, and were called the Little Senate.* Now Dunbarton or Alclyde was not one either of the colonies or municipal towns. Nor, even though we were to grant to modern advocates of a Scottish birthplace for St. Patrick leave to move it from the holy tower of Dunbarton to Kilpatrick, on the south of the Clyde, could they find here a city of a municipal character. Father Shearman, seeing, I suppose, the force of this objection, says that St. Patrick's father was a military Decurion in charge of 300 horse.

But I am not aware that Spanheim, Arrian, or any classical authorities have assigned 300 men to a Decurion. I am not aware that more than ten men usually, according to the etymo-

* "Quorum cætum recte appellavit antiquitas Minorem Senatum." Majorien: "Novellæ," II, ad *calcem*.

logical meaning of the word, were assigned to him,* or that more than a triple multiple of ten, with their sub-Decurions, thus forming an entire body of 33, were ever assigned to the Decurion. This rank would not surely confer nobility. But the position of civil Decurion was one of risk and expense, and hence a very considerable amount of rateable property was required for the rank of Decurion.† From these were selected the executive magistrates of the city, the collectors of the public revenue, and all officers to places of trust and emolument. On that account the idea of civil Decurions or senators in Alclyde is not to be entertained.

Secondly, even though we were to overlook the contradiction to all the old Lives involved in removing the Saint's birthplace to Kilpatrick, the historical context would not warrant it. Any person who even superficially glances at the state of society in Scotland at the end of the fourth century may fairly infer that Kilpatrick was not the Saint's birthplace. Ever since Agricola and Adrian erected their ramparts respectively at the Clyde and the Tyne, it taxed the ingenuity and power of Roman generals and emperors to defend their settlements against the invasion of the Picts and northern tribes. These fierce barbarians, so far from being restrained either by the northern or southern rampart, often precipitated themselves on the southern portion of Britain, and carried destruction even to the shores of Kent. Septimius Severus, Diocletian, and Theodosius had to repair the ramparts broken through by the incursions of the barbarian Scots and Picts; and although South Britain had been for ages divided into three Roman provinces, ruled under Roman law, it was only about the year 370 a fourth province, comprising the country between the two ramparts, was formed under the name of Valentia, in honour of Valentinian.‡ And at the beginning of the fifth century, Honorius, not being able to defend this province or any of Britain against the barbarians, wrote to the Britons to defend themselves.

In addition to all this we are to take into our account that the country was pagan till about the year 400. Nennius became the apostle of the southern Picts. Bede informs us that previous to

* Festus, Varro, Vegetius. The etymological meaning of the word affected, it is thought, the civil as well as the military Decurion; for originally every tenth man in the colony, it is considered, was chosen to form the *Curia* or Senate.

† Theod. Code: "Novellæ," 35. Three hundred solidi were required.

‡ Nec falso nomine Pictos

Edomuit Scotumque vago mucrone secutus
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas,
Incaluit Pictorum Sanguine Thule.

(Claudian, in 3 Cons. Hon. v. 53.)

the erection of "*Candida Casa*," or Withern, there had not been a church in the country.* Whatever knowledge of Christianity penetrated among the people came casually through a Christian soldier. Is it likely that a society presenting such a civil or military or religious aspect could represent such a Christian community as that in which St. Patrick was brought up? He speaks of his father having been a deacon and his grandfather being a priest, and states that his captivity and trouble were deservedly traceable to the neglect of instructions which used to be given by the priests.

Does not this suppose a well-established Catholic society, but incompatible with the pagan state of society on either side of the Caledonian Roman rampart?

But if we look to Wales, how different is the prospect! Here was a well-established Catholic community. Even so early as the year 314 the bishop or archbishop of Caerleon is supposed to have represented the Church of Wales at the Council of Arles.† Hence, every expression used by our national apostle in reference to his birthplace would readily and naturally conform to such a place.

Thirdly, the Saint in writing to Coroticus, or Ceretic, and to his soldiers who partly slew and partly carried into captivity his newly baptized converts, implied that the murderers were his fellow-citizens. This meant more than the freedom of the city, or the "*Jus Latium*," which made all who enjoyed it fellow-citizens in a general sense. Our great Saint said that he would not call them fellow-citizens, or fellow-citizens of pious Romans. He took an occasion to add that he forfeited his nobility for externs, though his own know him not, and that in his regard the words of Scripture were verified—"A prophet in his own country has no honour." All this, I repeat, implies fellow-citizenship in a really strict and physical sense. Moreover, the letter of expostulation and excommunication was not only to the British prince, but to his soldiers to whom it was to be read. Where can we find in Kilpatrick, an unknown village, the described city and garrison for such a soldiery? Kilpatrick was on the borderline of restless raiders; it was the cockpit for contending civilization and barbarism. Our Saint in his letter of excommunication commanded all who were holy and humble of heart not to eat, or converse with, or take their alms till they had done condign penance. How could a Church to which allusion is made in this letter be supposed to exist in any part of Scotland, much less in an unknown village? Even the capital of the province, "*Candida Casa*," did not contain such a Christian com-

* Lib. iii. ch. iv.

† Stillingfleet, "*Antiq.*," Works, vol. iii. ch. ii.

munity. The country was peopled principally by Picts, Scots, and Saxons. The Picts had fallen away from the teaching of Nennius, and hence our apostle calls them apostates, while the roving Scots and plundering Saxons were pagan. There are good grounds, then, for asserting that the picture sketched by St. Patrick in reference to the soldiers of Coroticus did not find its antetype in Kilpatrick.

Moreover, St. Patrick reminds Coroticus of the pious conduct of the Gauls and Romans, who sent holy priests among the Franks and other extern pagans in order to redeem baptized slaves; whereas he slew or sold into extern lands Christ's virgin members, who were born free, to apostate Picts and Scots. Now, in order to have the contrast or antithesis complete, as the Saint intended, the Picts and Scots should be of a different country from Coroticus, and therefore not from the country of Alclyde.

Once again : St. Patrick calls Coroticus and his soldiers fellow-citizens of fiends because, among other reasons, they were companions of the Scots and apostate Picts. Now, if Coroticus were a ruler of Strathclyde, he could not consistently be upbraided for being a companion of those among whom he should have lived, and over whom he had to rule. For in the year 432, when Palladius passed over to Scotland on his way to Rome from Ireland, and touched, probably, at Portpatrick, he is said to have been on the confines of the Picts and Britons.* The country of the Picts then lay between the Clyde and the Tweed : even Adrian's Wall, which ran parallel to the Tweed, is marked on maps as the wall of the Picts. If, then, so early as the year 432, when the remembrance and fear of the Roman legions were scarcely wiped out of the pagan and apostate barbarians, the Alclyde district was called Pictish rather than British, how much more so must this have been the case subsequently, when St. Patrick wrote to Coroticus, and as the barbarians waxed stronger and the legions were a thing of the past? Writing, then, at a time when even the southern part of Alclyde was called Pictish, could St. Patrick in any likelihood have styled himself a Briton if he had been born in the northermost part of Alclyde?

But if, on the other hand, we suppose the Saint to be a native of South Wales, how naturally his every expression adapts itself to the supposition ! How different is the state of society there from what it was in Alclyde ! So early as the year 347, St. Athanasius speaks of the British bishops who attended at the Council of Sardica ; † and when the Saxons came into Britain,

* "*Documenta de S. P.*," p. 25. Vita, 2da, et Vita 5ta.

† *Apolog.* ii. p. 720.

about the time St. Patrick was addressing Coroticus, there were in existence the dioceses of Hereford, Llandaff, Lan Patern, Bangor, St. Asaph's, Worcester, and Morgan.*

That Corotic, whom St. Patrick styles impliedly a fellow-citizen, was a native of Wales, is made abundantly evident. Corotic, or Caradoc, who was brought in chains to Rome in the year 51, was prince of the Siluri. Caradoc, who beheaded St. Winifred, was prince of North Wales.† A Caradoc is supposed to have given a name to Cardiganshire.‡ The Caradogs appear to have been as indigenous to Wales as the Pharaohs to Egypt.

We have the additional testimony of Joceline, who states that Corotic was a Welshman; § and the "Book of Armagh" confirms the statement. || This cumulative evidence is borne out by St. Patrick's letter to Corotic. The Saint, while disowning the soldiers of Corotic, had to acknowledge, however, that they really were his fellow-citizens; but while establishing grounds for a charge and guilt against them by their connection with the pagan Scots and apostate Picts, he states that these were only companions to them, and fellow-citizens not to them but to fiends.

An objection remains to be noticed. Fiacce states that St. Patrick was born in Nentur; and the scholiast asserts "that Nentur lay among the Northern Britons—that is, in Alclyde." ¶ But, we may ask, who were the Britons? Wales was the principal stronghold of the ancient Britons at a time when the Roman eagles waved triumphantly over the other parts of South Britain; and when subsequently the Anglo-Saxons had subdued every part of it from Deira to the shores of Kent, Wales retained the name exclusively, and represented the original inhabitants of Britain. Subsequently, when the Angles and Saxons and their heptarchy went down, and were shattered under the heel of the mail-clad Normans, the independence of Wales was maintained till the latter part of the twelfth century. Wales then emphatically deserved the name of Britain; and even to the present day there is no other name in Irish for a Welshman than that for a Briton.

Probus, even in the tenth century, states that St. Patrick was instrumental in the conversion of Normandy, England, and Britain.** The editor of the *Lives* has had to admit that Probus in this passage understood by Britain, Wales; †† and Joceline, who wrote in the twelfth century, states that Corotic

* Gual. Monum. Hist., lib. viii. chap. iv.

† Leland, "De Script.," p. 258.

‡ "Hist. of Cardigan:" Meyrick.

§ "Finibus quibusdam Britanniae quæ modo Vallia vocatur." (Vita Sexta.)

|| Index to Second Part.

¶ Colgan's translation of "North Britons" by North Britain is misleading, for this in his time was synonymous with Scotland.

** "Trias Thaum.," p. 51.

†† Ibid., p. 62, n. 7.

belonged to a country which lately came to be called by the name of Wales.* There is good reason, then, for suspecting that the scholiast on Fiacca attached the same meaning as his contemporary Probus to Britain, and that North Britons could have meant those in North Wales.

But could there be any reason for the introduction of Alclyde? Yes; for there was a Clyde or Clwyd in North Wales, which flows into the Irish Sea. Mention, too, is made of Strathclyde there, or the valley of the Clyde.† By-and-by this Alclyde could very naturally be applied to Scotland, the country of the "Northern Britons," in the scholium referred to, or the country, as translated by Colgan, in North Britain. This could the more readily have taken place, as even Colgan, who advocates Alclyde as St. Patrick's birthplace, admits that Alclyde, the synonym for Dunbarton in Scotland, was written Arclyde.‡ The rock or castle associated with the word Alclyde, and thus suggestive of the high, heavenly tower in which St. Patrick was represented as born, would render its adoption preferable to that of Arclyde. Mistakes far more serious than this, if such it be, have been committed by Irish as well as by other copyists. Thus, the holy senior, St. Paulinus, *lord* of Campania, who ordained St. Patrick under the shadow of Mount Sarnus, had been transformed by an Irish copyist into the Lord, and subsequently into Lord Jesus on Mount Hermon; and the monstrous transformation has been perpetuated in the latest elaborate Life of our national Saint.§

There was the additional reason for connecting St. Patrick with the Arclyde in Scotland, and subsequently with Dunbarton, that Palladius, called Patrick, died there, having, according to Scottish historians, spent over twenty years in evangelizing the country. But even still the objection remains, that North Wales is not the birthplace of St. Patrick. True; at the same time there is less violence to probability in stating that he was born in North Wales than in North Scotland. As the author of the English Martyrology || and the learned Camden ¶ were mistaken in assigning the Saint's birthplace, the former to Somersetshire and the latter to Pembrokeshire, it is no matter for wonder that the scholiast was mistaken in assigning North Wales rather than South Wales as St. Patrick's birthplace. There is the less reliance to be placed on a statement made not incidentally, in identifica-

* "*Vita Sexta.*" Welsh, a term applied by the Anglo-Saxons to the original Britons of Wales, meant a stranger, and stuck to them. The Welsh called themselves, as did the Irish, Britons.

† "*Cambro-British Saints,*" p. 351. "*Four Ancient Books of Wales,*" i. 73.

‡ "*Tr. Thaum.*" p. 170, n. 2.

§ Todd's "*St. Patrick,*" p. 325.

|| On the 17th March.

¶ "*Description of Pembrokeshire,*" p. 524.

tion of a place, but glossarially. Glossarists try not their explanations on things generally known: quite otherwise. If even the burial-place of St. Patrick in the seventh century was a matter of doubt, what wonder that a mistake would arise, two or three hundred years subsequently, in reference to what did not concern our people so much—his birthplace?

My remarks on the scholiasts have been made not for the purpose of lessening but of supporting the credibility of Irish writers. I have found for the most part that not only what was puzzling but self-contradictory apparently in Irish writers became quite consistent under the play of more light, and that the mistake lay not with them, but with their readers or copyists. Our desire is to bring the Lives and their commentators, for their own sakes, into harmony with our Saint's express testimony; for the weight attaching to any Life or scholium is but as dust in the balance against the clearest words of St. Patrick himself; and I proceed now to give these words in reference to his birthplace.

As I shall have occasion to allude to the Lives in reference to the Saint's testimony, I will, for the sake of brevity, refer to them by their number, arranged as follows, according to my judgment, in chronological order:

1. Fiacc, the reputed author of the first Life, merely says: "Patrick was born in Nentur."*

2. Patrick, who was also called Sochet, a Briton by nation, was born in the Britains, begotten of Cualfornius, a deacon, son, as he himself says, of Potitus, a priest, who was of the village of Ban navem Thabur indecha, not far from our sea, which village we have always and unquestionably ascertained to be Ventre.†

3. He was therefore born in that town, Nemthor by name. . . . Patrick was born in the plain of Taburne. The Plain of Tents was so called because the Roman army, on a certain time during the winter cold, fixed their tents there, and hence it was called the Plain of Tabern; that is, the Plain of Tents.‡

* "Natus est Patricius in Nemthurri;" strophe i. I give the Latin version as easier. This metrical Life is attributed to the end of the sixth century.

† "Patricius qui et Sochet vocabatur, Brito natione, in Britanniiis natus, Cualforni diaconi ortus, ut ipse ait, Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit vico Ban navem Thabur indecha, ut procul a mari nostro, quem vicum, constanter indubitanterque comperimus esse ventre." ("Documenta de S. P.," edited most learnedly by Rev. E. Hogan), p. 21. This is attributed to the latter part of the seventh century.

‡ "Natus est igitur in illo oppido Nemthor nomine. . . . Patricius natus est in Campo Taburne. Campus autem tabernaculorum ob hoc dictus eo quod in eo Romani exercitus quodam tempore tabernacula sua ibi statuerunt hyemali frigore, et de hoc nominatus est Campus Tabern, id est, campus tabernaculorum." (Colgan, "Tr. Thaum.," p. 11.) This is attributed to a Saint Patrick junior, but not older than the ninth century.

4. Patrick was therefore born in that town, by name Nemthor. Patrick was born in the Plain of Taburnia. The Plain of Tents was so named because the Roman army on a certain time during the winter cold fixed there their tents; and hence the Plain of Tabuerni—that is, the Plain of Tents. *

5. Saint Patrick, who was also called Sochet, was a Briton by nation. . . . He was born of a father Calphurnius, a deacon, the son of Potitus, a presbyter, . . . of the village Bannave, of the Tiburnian region, not far from our sea, which village we certainly found to be of the Nentrian province, in which giants are said formerly to have dwelt. †

6. From that dispersion his parents proceeded to Strathelyde, in which Patrick was conceived and born. . . . Saint Patrick therefore was born in the city called Nemthor, which can be rendered into Latin as the heavenly tower. This city is in the Plain of Taburnia, which is called the Plain of Camps because a Roman army on a certain time pitched their tents there. In the British language *Tabern* means the Plain of Tents. He is said to have been born on a stone. ‡

7. Saint Patrick derived his origin from the Britons of Alclyde. . . . Nemthor, which etymologically is a heavenly tower, was the birthplace of the infant, who was evidently marked out as a citizen of the heavenly Jerusalem by the large supply of grace vouchsafed to him, and by the wonders that preceded, accompanied, and followed his birth. §

8. A Briton by nation, in the village called Taburnia—that is, the

* "Natus est igitur Patricius in illo oppido Nemthor nomine. . . . Patricius natus est in Campo Taburniæ. Campus autem tabernaculorum ob hoc dictus est eo quod in eo Romani exercitus ibi straverint hiemali frigore, et de hoc nomine est Campus Tabuerni, id est, campus tabernaculorum. Hic autem natus est super lapidem." (Ibid. p. 21.) This is attributed to St. Benignus, and is referrible to the tenth century.

† "Sanctus Patricius qui et Sochet vocabatur Brito fuit natione. . . . Hic in Britannii natus est a patre Calpurnio diacono, qui fuit filius Potiti presbyteri . . . de vico Bannave Tiburniæ regionis, hand procul a mari occidentali, quem vicum indubitanter comperimus esse nentriæ provinciæ in qua olim gigantes habitasse dicuntur." (Ibid. p. 51.) This, written by Probus, is referrible to the tenth century.

‡ "Ex illa ergo dispersione parentes ejus in regione Strato Clude perrexerunt. . . . Sanctus Patricius ergo in oppido Nemthor nomine quod turris cœlestis latine interpretari potest, natus fuit. Quod oppidum in Campo Taburniæ est, qui campus tabernaculorum dicitur eo quod in eo Romani exercitus quodam tempore tabernacula constituerit. Britannica autem lingua Campus Tabern idem Campus tabernaculorum dicitur. Natus autem fertur super lapidem." (Ibid. p. 35.) This is attributed to Eleran the Wise, but referrible to the end of the tenth century.

§ "De Britannii Alcludensibus originem duxit Sanctus Patricius. . . . Nemthor quod ex vocis etymo cœlestem turrem denotat nascenti infantulo quem cœlestis gratiæ largâ (this mark of the ablative is wrong) indulgentia signis et prodigiis ante et post ortum et in ipso ortu continuo concomitantibus futurum cœlestis Jerusalem civem certo pronunciaverat, patria et nativitatibus locus fuit." This is referrible to the tenth century.

Plain of Tents; for the Roman army pitched their tents there, living near the city of Nemthor, and thus in a residence bordering on the Irish sea.*

Full of interest as all these references to our national Saint are, more interesting beyond comparison are his own words, on which these are commentaries. I give them from the Saint's own "Confession," one of the oldest pieces of composition in the empire. His reference to his paternal residence :

I Patrick had for father Calpornius who was of the town *Benaventaberniæ*. He had,† indeed, a farm close by, where I was made captive.

By referring to the explanation given in the several Lives, one can see that only the last part of the name of the father's dwelling-place has been attempted to be explained or translated by the old writers. They state that *Tabernia* is a Latinized form of the British word for tents. They imply, if the word be noticed by them at all, that "*Beneven*," the first part of the description, is a name for a plain; but I am not aware that there is such a word with such a meaning in the British language.

The modern school of critics has endeavoured to find in the middle part of the word, "*aven*," an inflexion of the Irish word for river. And yet that is as vague as the "*plain of tents*" insisted on by all the old Lives. In this perplexing state of things it occurred to me that so practical a saint could not have given a mere colourless reference to a river or camp-ground as a full description of his birthplace; and I seized accordingly on the version of the words given (No. 2) in "*Ban navem thabur indecha*," and attempted to prove, in order to come at a distinctive well or river in connection with the Saint's birthplace, that "*Taberniæ*" of the "Confession" was only a corruption of the *tabur indecha*.‡ My opinion of the old biographers, as expressed in a former article, was "that their premises were false," and "that so early as the eighth century a corrupt text was adopted."

* "*Brito natione, in pago Taburniæ vocabulo, hoc est tabernaculorum Campo eo quod Romani exercitus tabernacula fixerant ibidem, secus oppidum Nemphor degens, mari Hibernico collimitans habitatione.*" (*Ibid.* p. 65.)

† "*Ego Patricius patrem habui Calpornium. . . . qui fuit e vico Beneventaberniæ: villam enim prope habuit, ubi capturam dedi.*" ("*Confessio*," i. 1.)

‡ It is otherwise: *tabur indecha* is a corruption of *Taberniæ* as found in the Book of Armagh. The *ha* at the end of *indecha* was taken by the copyist from the following word, which consequently is written *ut* instead of *haud procul*. Besides, *indeca*, not *indecha*, is used for Indian in the "*Lebor Breac*" referred to by me in proof of my mistake.

As no distinct image can be conjured out of "Beneventaberniæ" through a British, Irish, or Latin medium, it occurs to me that everything can be gained by a different division of the syllables. The reader may bear in mind that one of our documents (No. 2) gave four syllables to the word. Another (No. 6) gave Bannave, and thus differs from the corresponding portion of the word as found in the "Confession." Nor have modern writers on the Saint's Life given any help to clear the air. Dr. Todd's "St. Patrick" (p. 355), while giving "Bonavem Taberniæ" in the text, refers for his authority to the Book of Armagh, which, however, gives "Bannavem."

The reference does not bear out his text; and should a correction have been intended by him, the note and the text ought to have changed places. So, too, the late President of the Royal Irish Academy, while undertaking to give a translation of the "Confession," gives us Bannow.* But I hasten on to make good my verdict on the Lives whose text and translation I reject.

The "Beneventaberniæ," as found in the "Confession," was, I suspect, originally Beneventa Burrii or Burriæ. Burrium or Burria is the Usk town on the river Usk, in Wales. The difference, slight as it is, between Bernia and Burnia is accounted for by bearing in mind that *e* is readily mistaken for *u*, and the Irish *n* is most like the archaic form of *r*. Once the Irish scribes conceived the idea of "Tabern," the substitution of *e* for *u* became a matter of course. However, we find the materials for a correct spelling in the word "Taburnia," as evidenced in the quoted documents (2, 3, 4, 5); and while most of these give the inflexion from the feminine stem *burria*, another document (No. 4) gives *Tabuerni*, an inflexion of the nominative *Burrium*.

Mention has been made of "Beneventa," and its appearance in connection with our Saint's birthplace is as remarkable as it was expected. As the eye glances at the old map of Roman Britain, it is caught by the appearance of the settlements or *ventas*. In the first province attacked and conquered by the Romans, the sign and bond of Roman dominion replaces the stronghold of the ancient Britons; and in *Britannia Prima* we see the Caerwenter or Winchester planted in the old *Venta* Belgarum. If we cast our eyes on *Britannia Secunda* we find the town of Northampton styled, according to Leland, *Bennaventa*, in the old country of the *Venta* Icenorum. One should naturally expect a Beneventa in the country of the brave Siluri; the more so as Polydore Virgil suggests that Banneventa was on the Wye, in the *Venta* Silurum, rather than on

* *Trans. of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvii. p. 70, for December 1885.

the river Nen, in Northamptonshire; and considering that Banna, according to many,* meant a ruler or prefect, I was disposed to judge that the Bannaventa, in the Venta Silurum, would be found near the Roman stronghold Caerwent. But if Beneventa does not appear there on the existing maps, it is found registered, though in a mangled and disjointed form, in the "Confession" of our national apostle.

Beneventa was a name given by the Romans to their settlements. One of their earliest colonies originated the name. They expelled the Samnites; and having done so, they gave to their new colony a new name, and changed it, as a good omen, from *Malaventa*, which it had since the days of Diomedes, into Beneventa. The appearance of the name in South Wales harmonizes with the Roman spirit, and thus marks out the Saint's birthplace among the first settlements in the country of the Siluri. And even though we were to suppose that St. Patrick's father gave its name to the place of capture, we can see in this only the natural desire of a Roman Briton to copy the names as well as the laws and habits of the parent country. Then the peculiarly distinctive epithet *Burrian* was added to Beneventa, as there were several of the same name.

Now, it is well to inquire how the scattered hints in the Lives can be focussed on the spot described in the Saint's "Confession." "Instead of making them the test of truth, elastic and doubtful as they were, we can now test their own truth by the fixed and unerring standard supplied by the "Confession."

(a) First of all, the Lives as well as St. Patrick's own writings, describe him as a Briton; but while the epithet applies to any person in Britain, it meant particularly and unqualifiedly a Welshman.

(b) All the Lives describe the Saint's birthplace as the Plain of Tents. Such was the champagne country that stretched from Burria down to Caerleon. The rich, level country on the left of the Usk particularly afforded the most free scope for the encampment and discipline of an army. Such encampments were necessary before a tower or extensive permanent fortifications were thrown up. But by-and-by the city of the legions (*Caerleon-legionum*) replaced the improvised tents.

(c) The Lives speak of St. Patrick being born (No. 1) in Nentur. This is said to mean a sacred tower or castle (Nos. 2, 5, 8). The editor of the Lives in rendering it into Latin shows that he understood it to mean a holy castle; and because *nen* was not so usually used in later times as *nem* for "heavenly," he gave the Latinized form in *nemthurri*.

* "Banna apud Italotas summus magistratus vel rex." This word of course has a different root from *Beneventa*.

(d) Some Lives (Nos. 3, 4, 5) speak of the Saint being born on a stone, and others of a flood of water deluging him when in charge of his nurse. Now, his connection with a castle and its probably stony flooring, built as it was on the verge of the tidal river, would harmonize with the description.

(e) The Lives (Nos. 2, 6) speak of his dwelling as not far from the Irish Sea. Now, this description fits in with a habitation only a few miles north of the Bristol Channel. The Bristol waters and Irish Sea so commingle that near Newport they are not easily distinguishable.

(f) The Lives (No. 6) speak of giants said to have dwelt near the Saint's habitation. Just hard by, on the west of Caerleon, is the fabled habitation of giants. It is of an elliptical shape ; and though it was probably a Roman amphitheatre, the tradition prevalent in the days of Probus lingers round the place still ; for it is at present called Arthur's Round Table.* All these scattered hints in the Lives are brought together, not for the purpose of confirming the Saint's description—it requires no confirmation—but to impart to them a probability, which they otherwise would not possess, by their harmonizing with the description.

(g) The Lives (No. 6) speak of Nentre as of the Nentrian province ; in other words, the town connected with the Saint's birthplace gave a name to the province in which it was situated. Caerleon was the capital of the Roman province in Wales.

(h) There is a story in the Lives (*Secunda, Tertia, Quarta*) touching a miracle performed through the instrumentality of St. Patrick, yet a helpless child. On a certain occasion his uncle, in carrying him to the Senate-house in his arms, dropped dead ; and when the bystanders addressed the predestined youth as the cause, or occasion, or interested party in the fatal occurrence, the lifeless man was restored to life and strength. I allude to the occurrence because it incidentally brings out the municipal character of the town as indicated by the Senate-house.

It may not be amiss to mention that the idea of St. Patrick's father as a senator or nobleman, having a country seat or villa some miles from the capital, is borne out by the character of the country at the present day : Burrium or Usk presents traces of numberless gardens and orchards scattered round the town, and walled away from each other as if so many separate country seats.

The words of our Saint in the "Confession" could absolutely mean that Usk was his birthplace. For, though speaking of his father's residence, he, as a matter of course and modesty, by the very fact, spoke of his own in his sixteenth year as not

* Its depth was six yards, its longest diameter seventy-four, its shortest sixty-four yards.

distinct from that of the father. The Saint, we may reasonably suppose, would leave on record what interested his spiritual children ; and as his birthplace was infinitely more interesting to them than his father's, we could fairly presume that in his "Confession" mention of the father's residence necessarily involved his own. In support of this supposition, we have a castle, the "nentur," or holy tower, though in a ruined state, adjoining Usk, built on an eminence, and pronounced one of the most considerable structures of its kind.* And though I am not in a position to establish or deny its Roman character, the castle was in existence long before the Norman invasion. On the other hand, it may be said that though St. Patrick was born on the other side of the Usk river, in Caerleon, he, in his "Confession," written in reference to his apostolate, would touch only on his first connection with Ireland, or his captivity. Hence the mention of the place of his captivity. The Saint may be supposed not to have written what was well known, as often told to his disciples as to his birth in a neighbouring capital. He states that his father had a villa near Usk ; now, it may be fairly said that this was given as a reason for his being captured in a place which was not his natural or permanent home. Otherwise, we should suppose that the Saint gave a reason for being captured at his home. Where but at his home could a youth of fifteen be supposed to have been captured ? It may be inferred that if the Saint, after saying that his father was of or in the Usk—Beneventa, were a native of it, he would have directly stated that he was captured there. But no : he gave directly a reason for the father's residence in Usk temporarily, it may be argued, and indirectly for his capture there, though born elsewhere. This view of the case is supported by the several incidents connected with the Saint, as given in the several Lives, and would lead us to the right rather than left of the river Usk as the birthplace of the Saint.

In conclusion, a brief reply is due to an objection raised by the able writer of the article at the very head of this paper. It takes the form of a pointed question : "Is Father Malone's argument one acceptable or creditable to the Irish people, that they forgot, 'during times of confusion and irruption from pagan barbarians,' whence their apostle came?" The Church of God and her children take note not so much of where or when a saint was born, as when and how he died. The *natalis* of the Church's heroes is associated not so much with where he drew the first breath, as where he laboured and breathed his last. If, then, the spot of the *natalis* had been forgotten, what wonder—

* Edward IV. and Richard III, were born in it.

though not a matter of charge, however the writer referred to makes it a matter for *accusation*—that his carnal birthplace far away over the sea would have been forgotten by his spiritual children. The Book of Armagh tells us that the Saint's burial-place was unknown in the days of its writer.*

"Is Father Malone's argument acceptable or creditable to the Irish people?"

My answer is, that though I would go to the uttermost verge of truth and propriety to humour national prejudice, my first study is to consult the interests of truth rather than the prejudices of the people. I am first Catholic and then national; and as such I am only testifying to the tradition handed down by my predecessors since the days of St. Patrick. They gave up their most cherished traditions when clashing with his words. "*Patrick said*" headed every ordinance in the earlier ages of the Irish Church, in order to disarm national prejudice and gain acceptance for it. The *ipse dixit* of the Saint sufficed for them, and it is sufficient for me; and notwithstanding national prejudices and Scottish theories, I answer the question which heads this article by saying that, in my belief, St. Patrick was born in Monmouthshire, South Wales, at Caerleon, on the bank of the Usk.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

ART. IX.—DR. MIVART ON FAITH AND SCIENCE.

IT is perhaps necessary to take some notice of Dr. St. George Mivart's article in the *Nineteenth Century* for July, entitled "The Catholic Church and Biblical Criticism." The writer has distinctly challenged censure. I have no right, in these pages, to presume to censure any Catholic author, but it is lawful to point out one or two of Dr. Mivart's mistakes, and to try to disentangle some of his confusions of thought.

Dr. Mivart is a very distinguished expert in biological science. He has also published his ideas on several metaphysical matters, as to which he has successfully asserted against the current materialism certain common-sense views. During the last few months he has also, as he tells us, taken up Biblical criticism. I am not disposed to under-estimate the "freedom" of Catholics in matters

* "Similis fuit Moysi. . . . ubi sunt ossa ejus nemo novit." ("Documenta de St. Patritio," p. 89.)

of science, nor even to dispute his positions in biology, in metaphysics, or in hermeneutics. But in asserting the claims of science to freedom, he has—unwittingly, I believe—said some rather strong things which are wrong in point of theology. No apology need be offered for pointing out these erroneous principles. The excuse will not affect either the career of evolution or the fate of the “divided authorship” of the *Hexateuch*. But it will be a satisfaction to have from so eminent a man a disavowal of views which in some cases implicitly contradict the defined Catholic faith.

In the article under discussion—and for present purposes we may join with it a certain other paper, entitled “Modern Catholics and Scientific Freedom,” published two years ago*—Dr. Mivart’s principal purpose is to assert the “freedom” of Catholics in matters of science and of Biblical interpretation. He also uniformly avows himself a loyal Catholic, and ready to throw overboard any opinion which is condemned by the infallible authority of the Church. “A loyal Catholic,” he says, “must of course say that when any matter is clearly of faith, his conclusions must be wrong if they are opposed to it” (July 1885, p. 45). And I may admit, at the outset, that he never knowingly contradicts or nullifies this latter avowal. Whether or no his language is always really consistent with it will presently appear.

The principle which seems to be fundamental with Dr. Mivart, and which branches out into a variety of supplementary views, is thus expressed by him:

God has taught us by the actual facts of the history of Galileo that it is to men of science that He has committed the elucidation of scientific questions, scriptural or otherwise, and not to a consensus of theologians, or to ecclesiastical assemblies or tribunals. . . . It is the men of historical science now and not theologians or Congregations who are putting us in the way of apprehending, with some approach to accuracy, what the truth is as to the dates, authorities, and course of development of the writings which were inspired for our spiritual profit.—*Nineteenth Century*, July 1887, p. 50.

It is just the amount of truth there is in this authoritative statement that constitutes its danger. Does Dr. Mivart mean to assert that there are no matters of chemistry or biology which are so intimately bound up with revealed truth that the pastorate of the Church may not be divinely protected in pronouncing upon them? Most people know that the miraculous conception of our Lord Jesus Christ has been asserted to be impossible on physiological grounds. The Real Presence has been rejected for

* *Nineteenth Century*, July 1885.

reasons connected with chemistry. The Resurrection is pronounced by the "critical" school to be a myth, because it contradicts the laws of nature. The whole of the miraculous aspect of Christianity is swept away by a reference to the demands of science. To maintain that the divine guardian of revelation, in teaching the world what is the truth on these and similar matters, cannot at the same time indirectly decide with unerring accuracy the "scientific" doctrine involved in such teaching, is to *dissolve* the power of teaching altogether. The Christian revelation embraces not merely spiritual and mental ideas, but facts and physical occurrences. The sphere of "science" is to investigate facts and physical occurrences; but when these things have become the subject of Revelation, there is no room left, on those particular questions, for any further investigation, and science must simply bow to the teaching of God's witness. This seems to be elementary Christianity. It is very likely that Dr. Mivart will protest he never thought of contradicting it. If that be so, it is a pity he did not explicitly say so. For he must be aware that his words, as quoted above, are taken without limitation by those "scientific" men as to whose verdict he is so nervous. It is exactly this kind of violent talk—this brandishing of the independence of science and of the exclusive competence of science in her own sphere—that furnishes a text for all the railers at theology and the revilers of priestcraft who emulously follow afar off the steps of a Tyndall or a Huxley. Dr. Mivart does not like to be confronted with ecclesiastical decrees, but for the sake of others, whose simplicity his words may possibly take captive, it is really necessary to quote once more the words of the Munich Brief of Pius IX.:

Although the natural sciences rest each on its own principles, which reason investigates, nevertheless Catholics who cultivate such sciences should have Revelation before their eyes as a guiding-star to save them from danger and mistake, whenever they feel that (as often happens) they are being led by natural science to utter what is more or less opposed to the infallible Truth which God has revealed.—*Letter of December 21, 1863.*

But, as I have already admitted, Dr. Mivart will most probably assert that he agrees with all this. He will say: "If the infallible voice of the teaching Church in defining a doctrine of revelation incidentally defines a scientific view I will submit, and I will profess that any conclusion to the contrary must be erroneous. But I limit this admission to definitions *de Fide*. I will not abate one tittle of my scientific views at the bidding of the 'schola theologica,' or the consensus of the Fathers, or the ordinary teaching of the Church, or the universal belief of the faithful, or the decrees of Roman Congregations, or the definition of

Councils." It would appear, at this point, as if we were to be forced upon the wide sea of the controversy on infallibility. There can be no doubt, to any one who is moderately acquainted with scientific theology, that in some cases which come under the sweeping assertion just made, the Church of God could not err, or else the promises are of no effect. And it is therefore mischievous in Dr. Mivart to have so expressed himself. It is, for instance, certain that the Church is infallible in her ordinary magisterium. It is again of absolute obligation not to interpret Holy Scripture against the unanimous consent of the Fathers. Now, I believe that Dr. Mivart does not really mean to contradict these and similar truths. What he ought to have said, and what he would have said had he realized the disastrous effect of random talk on subjects of this kind, is, that as long as either of these authorities pronounce on matters of science or interpretation *which are not bound up with revelation*, they impose no duty of assent in Catholics.

Let it be observed that it does not follow, in the case of all the authorities mentioned, that even if they do pronounce certain scientific views to be bound up with revelation they always impose an obligation of interior assent. But what I object to is, the indiscriminatory assertion that *never* can any consensus of the Fathers, or of the faithful, or any tribunal of the Church under any circumstances demand such assent. The subject is wide and intricate; no man, even a theologian, should treat it without ample room and space. I decline to treat it here, both because there is no opportunity for it, and because I think that what I have now to say will make it unnecessary.

It is indisputable, then, that Catholics are bound to admit that in some cases the authority of the Pastorate, exercised by some of its organs, can indirectly and implicitly define scientific truth. But I consider it impossible to lay down for laymen in anything like an exhaustive manner how and when this would take place. It would be most unadvisable even for a trained theologian to attempt to explain the whole subject to the ordinary layman. But if a layman attempts it himself, the result can only be mischievous. The discussion of the "subject" and "object" of infallibility is very interesting and very useful if a man takes it up thoroughly with due preparation, and with that reverential wish to obey the Church in all things, which is a note of genuine Catholicism. But to propose in a magazine article full of the fear of what agnostic scientists will say about you, and not without a half-repressed and half-expressed animus against certain "ecclesiastical authorities," to draw the lines of scientific theology and anticipate the possibilities of ecclesiastical decisions in cases which have never yet arisen, is neither wise nor useful. Let it be

admitted, for the sake of argument, that Dr. Mivart is justified in claiming "freedom" for some kind of theory of evolution, for the non-instantaneous formation of the body of the first man, and for the divided authorship of the Hexateuch. Why does he not rest content with asserting his freedom, and refrain from formulating a sweeping principle like the one we have quoted? His antagonists, "ecclesiastical obstructives" as he calls them, have never done anything so rash and unscientific on their side as he has done on his. The Rev. Jeremiah Murphy, who wrote against him in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*,* denied that Catholics were free to hold the doctrine that the body of the first man was evolved by the same ordinary secondary laws which are said to have evolved the bodies of other animals, but he took care to add "on this ordinary meaning (of the text of Scripture) we can insist, *unless the evolutionists show that there is sufficient reason for departing from it. This they have not done, and consequently the primâ facie Scriptural view of man's creation need not be abandoned.*" Could anything show more clearly that Father Murphy is not an "obstructive?" Had he acted in the spirit of Dr. Mivart's articles he would have said, "Theology belongs to the Church; man's creation is a theological matter, and therefore no scientific investigation can possibly affect the Church's view about the formation of his body."

What I conceive the reasonable Catholic theologian's position to be in questions of biology and Scripture interpretation may be expressed in four sentences. First, he will not abandon a hitherto universal or quasi-universal consensus of opinion without very strict investigation into the claims of an opposite opinion; secondly, he will not on the other hand admit that anything physical or historical, anything which may be the object of research and experiment, is bound up with revelation unless there is adequate evidence that it is so; thirdly, he will be prepared to allow that the terms in which physical facts and historical events are expressed in theological documents are not of necessity precise or accurate *objectively*; in other words, the divine author of revelation and of Scripture must have spoken accurately, but the recipients of the divine message need not necessarily have understood fully and to the bottom the fact involved. And fourthly he will steadfastly maintain that the Church of God has the power both to define indirectly points of science or history which are involved in revelation, and to judge when they are actually so involved.

With these principles in view, I may permit myself to refer to the case of Galileo. Dr. Mivart has a touching respect for the memory of Galileo. I do not quarrel with him for that,

* December 1884.

though I believe it is generally admitted that he was a most provoking and vain-glorious writer—as some other scientists are in our own day—and that the grounds on which he maintained the heliocentric theory were utterly inadequate, and that therefore when he recanted his teachings he had really no very strong reasons for believing in them.* Putting this aside, however, I must maintain that Dr. Mivart lays a stress on the history of Galileo's condemnation which seems utterly unwarrantable. I will give Dr. Mivart's words :

Ecclesiastical authority gave a judgment directly affecting physics, and which impeded scientific progress. It went therefore *ultra vires*, but it did much more than that. It founded its erroneous decrees affecting physical science, which was *not* its own province, upon an erroneous judgment about the meaning of Scripture, which was universally supposed to *be* its province. In this important matter it was the man of science that was right and ecclesiastical authority that was wrong. The latter sought to impose, and more or less succeeded in imposing, an erroneous belief as to God's word, from which erroneous belief science has delivered us. By this course of action they have succeeded in demonstrating not only our freedom with respect to such passages of Scripture, but also, what they little deemed of, our freedom, as good Christians, with respect to ecclesiastical decrees also. . . . The proceedings which occurred with respect to Galileo afford us actual demonstration of two most noteworthy facts. One is that what is declared by authoritative congregations to be at once against the teachings of Scripture, of the holy Fathers, and of antecedent ecclesiastical tribunals concerning a matter touching science, may none the less be true. The second noteworthy fact is, that men of science may have a truer perception of what Scripture must be held (since it is inspired) to teach than may be granted to ecclesiastical authorities (July 1885, pp. 39–41).

I am not disposed to contest Dr. Mivart's view of the historical facts of the case of Galileo. I do not, of course, admit that the Church's infallibility, or that of the Church's Head, is compromised by the mistakes made. But, short of that, I do not care for the moment to dispute the assertion that mistakes were made by theologians, cardinals, congregations, and the Sovereign Pontiff himself. What I say is, that the Church, in this case, made no *theological* claim which she has since withdrawn as unfounded.

Let us admit that the heliocentric view was condemned as "heretical." It will be observed that the reason which is uniformly given for affirming it to be heretical is that it contradicts Scripture; and if in any particular instance this reason be not added, it is evidently implied, as the whole course of the controversy shows. Now I might perhaps say that in none of

* See the "Encyclopædia Britannica," new edition, Art. "Galileo."

the condemnations—even in that Brief of Alexander VII. which the Rev. W. W. Roberts has “discovered”—is there any evidence of an *ex cathedra* definition of the Church or of the Pope. But it is not necessary to insist on this. What I would point out is, that the condemnation is based on a reason. Moreover, the “reason” in this case is the very essence of the “heresy;” there is no other motive for the condemnation. But the reason alleged is the contradiction of Holy Scripture. I do not think any one will deny that this phrase may be used in two very different ways. Doubtless it is sometimes used to signify the formal contradiction of God’s word—the contradiction of the undoubted, admitted, and unassailable interpretation of the Divine revelation. But I contend that the expression is also employed in a much looser sense. There are cases—and this is one of them—in which to contradict Scripture means simply to contradict the common—but not necessarily “Catholic”—view of what Scripture says. To discover when this is the meaning, we have to examine each separate instance and treat it on its merits. The first sign that would guide is that the subject is rather one of science than of theology. It has always been the custom of the Church to “prohibit” certain views on physical subjects, if she thought they endangered the reverence of Catholics for the Word of God. I consider she may be quite right in uttering her prohibitions, even if in some cases she happens to be scientifically wrong. The reverence of “little ones” for the Holy Book is of much more importance than a mistake as to the earth’s crust or even the earth’s motion. But this is by the way. What I would say is, that, as there have been a large class of cases in every period when the Church has condemned views as contrary to Scripture, meaning that they were contrary to what most people thought to be Scripture, so it came to be generally understood that the expression, especially in a matter not clear on the surface, and which of its own nature might form the subject of human investigation, did not mean absolute and final heresy. It would therefore compel assent as the assertion of a very competent person, uncontradicted, compels assent. There would be no harm in discussing it privately, with due respect and caution, so as not to scandalize the general Catholic flock. That this view is correct as to Galileo’s case is proved by the whole tenor of the documents as they are given, for example, by M. Henri de l’Epinois.* We read that Pope Urban VIII. himself asserted that the condemnation by the Index in 1616 branded the doctrine as erroneous, not as heretical. But it certainly was condemned as (technically)

* “Question de Galilée;” Les faits et leurs conséquences (Palmé, 1878).

heretical; the Pope therefore must have meant that the word, in this case, did not mean heresy in its complete and adequate sense; it was "constructive" heresy, if I may use the expression, because everything which implies that Scripture can err is heresy by implication.* I must quote, also, a somewhat lengthy passage from an answer given by Cardinal Bellarmin to Padre Foscarini, a great adherent of the Copernican system. It is very important, as showing the view of the greatest theologians of the day—that Copernicanism was not *absolutely* against faith, and indeed could not be. This letter is cited by Dr. Mivart (from the pages of his friend and guide, Mr. Roberts), but he stops short just at the most interesting passage. It was written the year before the prohibition by the Index in 1616 of certain Copernican books. The italics are my own:

I believe that you (Padre Foscarini) and Galileo would act prudently if you contented yourselves with putting forth your opinion as a hypothesis and not as absolute truth. . . . To say that the sun is really and truly immovable in the centre of the universe, and that the earth revolves round the sun, is a very dangerous thing; you irritate all the scholastic philosophers and theologians, and you at the same time do harm to the faith, for you say that Holy Scripture asserts what is not true. All the Fathers and modern commentators have interpreted literally those passages which speak of the sun in the heavens and its revolution round the earth, and of the earth's immobility in the centre of the universe. Think calmly and prudently whether the Church can allow a meaning to be given to Holy Scripture which is contrary to that of the Fathers and of all interpreters, Greek or Latin.

Here Dr. Mivart breaks off; I continue:

Do not say that this is no matter of Faith; if it is not a matter of Faith *ex parte objecti*, it is matter of Faith *ex parte dicentis*; thus it would be heretical to deny that Abraham had two sons or Jacob twelve, as it would to deny that Christ was born of a Virgin, because both assertions are made by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of the prophets and the apostles. *If there were any true demonstration that the sun was in the centre of the universe, and that it does not revolve round the earth, but the earth round the sun, then it would be necessary to proceed very solicitously and carefully in the explanation of those passages of Scripture which appear to be contrary, and rather to say that we do not understand, than to say that what is demonstrated is false. . . . In case of doubt we ought not to abandon the interpretation of the Fathers.†*

* "Question de Galilée," p. 87-8—where the Italian text of the Pope's words is given.

† Translated from the original Italian given in "The Pontifical Decrees, &c.," by the Rev. W. W. Roberts, p. 117.

I have italicised some words in the foregoing extract because they show most clearly the position of the Copernican question. It is a question not of Faith in itself, but relating to Faith only because it may imply (does imply according to some) an assertion that Holy Scripture can assert what is false. The main question indeed, or the formal and essential question, is, Can Holy Scriptures say what is not true? The question of the sun's place and motion is really one of fact, which does not come into the domain of faith except so far as the Scripture asserts it. To Cardinal Bellarmin, and to Catholics of that day, it seemed clear that Scripture asserted the geocentric view. A plain assertion of Scripture could only be denied by a man who was reckless of Faith, and indeed a heretic. Such plain assertions are, for example, that Abraham had two sons and Jacob twelve. But the Cardinal sees, all the time, that the Scripture statements as to earth and sun are not really as plain, categorical and literal, as the statements about the sons of the patriarchs. He sees, therefore, that the literalness of these statements *could* be denied without *necessarily* proclaiming Scripture false. He sees, in other words, that the literal meaning cannot be of Faith either *ex parte materiae* or *ex parte dicentis*. Therefore he entertains the possibility of some other—the Copernican—view being proved, and proceeds to state what would then have to be done with the text of the Bible; and the last thing that he would counsel is to deny what is demonstrated, when it is demonstrated. Now Cardinal Bellarmin could not possibly have used such words had he held the geocentric interpretation to be of Faith. But there is much more than that. He implies that no ecclesiastical pronouncement could ever place this matter within the domain of Faith. How do I show this? Because he appeals, in order to prove this view, to the “consensus patrum,” and *still* admits it may be doubtful. Now the “consensus patrum” is a technical name for unanimous Catholic tradition—and whatever is taught in such tradition is “de fide Catholica,” that is, it is part of revealed truth, or infallibly connected therewith. If, therefore, this great theologian adduces the “consensus patrum” in support of a view, and still considers such view to be possibly reformable, it can only be because the thing itself can never be the subject-matter of a definition. In spite of whatever technical formulas, the thing was regarded as not belonging to the class in which infallible definitions were possible. To a man who held this, no sentence of any Church tribunal, or even of the Pope himself, speaking as universal teacher, could irrevocably define or necessarily compel assent to the proposition that the sun moved or that the world stood still; because no man who speaks as Bellarmin does in the letter quoted could ever regard as within

the domain of Catholic Faith a matter as to which he had admitted that the "consensus patrum" might have to be reformed.*

And I maintain that, notwithstanding the reverence which was due to the Roman tribunals and to the Pope himself—a reverence which naturally constituted a law for Catholics—there is a continuous succession of writers, beginning even from the date (1634) of the condemnation by the Inquisition, who, notwithstanding that judgment, considered the heliocentric view might eventually triumph. Among these may be mentioned Gassendi, Caramuel, and Padre Grassi.† The latter is quoted by Dr. Mivart himself. They were all of them men of undoubted orthodoxy, and lived in the seventeenth century itself.

My purpose in mentioning these facts must not be lost sight of. It is not to prove that infallibility is not compromised by the Galileo decisions. It is to disprove what Dr. Mivart asserts, that the ecclesiastical tribunals claimed a *theological* competence which science has made them renounce. He says that we are henceforward altogether free in respect of any ecclesiastical decree whatever about the meaning of Scripture (see the extract given above p. 406). This is without doubt a daring and dangerous assertion. It seems to have been formulated in view of a possible utterance of Church authority on the subject of the body of Adam, or the dates of the Bible. It is a sample of what mischief a layman can do when he takes to teaching theology. Even an ordinary common-sense view would teach a Catholic that if the Church is warned off the interpretation of the written word, she is stripped of half her power of guarding God's revelation. But, says Dr. Mivart, she has in one instance formally claimed it, and has since herself admitted she was wrong. My reply has been to deny that, in the case of Galileo, she has done any such thing. Words mean what they are intended to mean; and what they are intended to mean we can gather from those instructed persons who were on the spot and mixed up with the controversy. What the Church tribunals claimed was to condemn a certain interpretation as making Scripture false; they therefore had primarily in view to condemn the assertion that Scripture could speak falsely; and when they included in that condemnation the actual interpretation in question, it was, as I hold, with the implicit understanding that it might possibly be one day proved to be correct. We must remember that the modern disquisitions on assent had not then been written. If

* And therefore it is of no possible consequence, in spite of what the Rev. Mr. Roberts says, that this letter was written a few months before the Decree of the Index (1616). The Index could not have been any greater authority than the "consensus patrum."

† See "Question de Galilée," p. 267.

they had, the Congregations might have worded their decrees more explicitly. The Church spoke, and men obeyed; just as a father or a confessor spoke and men were bound to obey. But, had the question been asked, no one would have denied that in some matters, on some occasions, the decisions or dicta of these authorities might be lawfully resisted or questioned. If this view be made out, the question is not affected by any reiteration or repetition or confirmation of the original condemnation; and even the Rev. W. W. Roberts's discovery of the Bull "Speculatores" of Alexander VII., though its prescriptions are of supreme authority in the field which they cover, cannot transfer to the domain of faith, strictly so called, the precise matter which is outside of it.

But, of course, there is a sense in which the Church has a right to speak on questions of mere fact, or of science, so far as their treatment affects religion, even when the matter is one which does not concern the Faith strictly speaking, but only the good of souls. Dr. Mivart will not relish this; but I do not see how any one who holds that souls are the chief concern here below can hold any other opinion. No one can deny that it is often wrong to say even what is true, under all circumstances, indiscriminately. It must also be admitted that certain pursuits are dangerous to certain minds and at certain periods. It cannot be denied that the Church is within her rights and is in the main acting prudently when she regulates the reading even of Holy Scripture itself by her children. I am not denying that a duty of silence may have been made obligatory in Catholics by the decrees of 1616 and 1634. I do not know whether such silence did any great harm to science. It was in the nature of things only a qualified obligation. We find Galileo quoted and praised all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from Pope Urban VIII. down to Benedict XIV. But perhaps science did suffer. If so, it is of course a misfortune, but not so great a one as to justify sober writers in talking nonsense. As to the future, the Church, it may be safely predicted, will continue to guard and interpret Scripture as she has done in every age. At times she will pronounce an irreformable dogmatic judgment in matter concerning the Catholic faith. At other times her minor tribunals will qualify propositions and prohibit views, sometimes mistakenly, generally most correctly and profitably. But with a little patience and a little lowly-mindedness the Catholic man of science need never be troubled in mind or disturbed in conscience. He will always be able to see—or the *schola theologica* will always be able to tell him—when he is within his rights in tentatively pursuing a line that has been pronounced mistaken. If, for a brief space, he has to hesitate, if he has to

keep a respectful silence instead of doing as modern scientists prefer to do, and airing his crudest speculations in the periodical press, neither himself nor his science will be the worse for it. For the rest, we can well afford to wait till the thing really happens.

I do not by any means wish to deny that the case of Galileo has had an important effect on the action of Church authorities. It seems quite clear that it has made them more cautious in pronouncing on the interpretation of Scripture when the sacred text speaks of natural phenomena. The reason of this is not so much the fact that science has proved authority wrong in one case, as because that case, taking it with all its circumstances, was one the like of which can never happen again. The Galilean controversy marked the close of a period and the opening of a new one. The heliocentric view was the first step in modern scientific expression. Before the days of Galileo men spoke of what they saw with the naked eye, and on the surface of things; thenceforth they were to use the telescope and the microscope; they investigated the bowels of the earth and the distances of the heavens. It was a far-reaching and most pregnant generalization when men first took in the idea that the arrangements which their books had hitherto called by the expression "nature" were merely a very few of the most obvious aspects of a vast organization, which could be, and which must be, searched into by observation. At once a multitude of familiar phrases lost their meaning, and many accepted truths had to be dethroned. And the effect of the discussion in the days of Galileo was not only to make men revise their formularies about the earth's motion, but to impress them most forcibly with the possibility that such a process might have to be gone through about a very large number of other things. The prevailing views were held by the Church authorities as by every one else. They were not really a part of the Divine revelation. Some people thought they were, and (we may admit it was a misfortune) the very authorities who had to pronounce, used language which was, to some extent, mistaken in the same direction. On the other hand, it is clear now that men of mark and standing asserted over and over again, that the new theories need not in any point contradict Holy Scripture. It was a matter which was not clear all at once. It is often not immediately evident that novel scientific views do or do not contradict Revelation. They have to be made precise, to be qualified, to be analyzed, and that by fallible men. During the process many Catholics will naturally make mistakes, and there is no reason why, now and then, Church authority itself should not make a mistake in this particular matter.

When the requisite reflection has had time to be made, then it is seen—as it was in the case of the views under discussion—that what was held by Catholic persons was something quite apart from Catholic faith. And we have no objection to admit that reflection was quickened and caution was deepened by the case of Galileo. In this sense, and not in any other, that case may be called “emancipatory.” If the Church authorities ever feel themselves called upon to pronounce on the dates or the authorship of the *Hexateuch*, or on the formation of Adam’s body, they will proceed—we may say it without suspicion of undutifulness—with more enlightened minds than the Congregations which condemned Galileo. The teaching Church is composed of fallible men, who must sometimes in certain departments make mistakes, and who must learn by experience as other men learn. The part of a dutiful Catholic is to lessen the effect of mistaken decisions by prudent silence or respectful remonstrance in the proper quarter, and not to make scandal worse by inept generalizations and unnecessary bitterness.

It is in connection with this part of the subject that I venture to remark on what Dr. Mivart calls the “sin of rashness in assent.” The perception of the sinfulness of assenting rashly is, in his view, one of those “ethical advances” by which this generation seems to have improved on the morality of the New Testament. I must quote it:

It is now evident to us that we have a moral obligation to withhold assent from what is not adequately proved, no less than to give assent to and affirm that which is evidently true. Doubt has acquired for men of science who are Theists a distinctly religious character. Few things seem to them more shocking than to be called upon to give assent to propositions which are not only neither self-evident nor certainly proved, but are even declared to be possibly untrue. Every man of science worthy of the name must not only refuse to give such assent, but must declare that he holds even things he considers proved only in such a way as to be ready to examine and weigh whatever seemingly important evidence may be freshly brought to light against them. For he doubts in obedience to a sense of duty. . . . He will deem the acceptance of any irrational belief in compliance with an emotional temptation to be fully as culpable as the harbouring of an irrational scepticism due to some other unworthy motive (July 1887, p. 35).

Dr. Mivart here asserts two things: first, that to assent to inadequately proved propositions is a sin; and secondly, that it is only now it has come to be considered a sin. The catalogue of sins is already long enough, but Dr. Mivart, as a moralist, opens out new and terrible possibilities. It seems we must now pray for strength to resist belief in all scientific theories whatever—

for there is hardly one which scientists would admit to be "adequately" proved. Our science-teachers must now say, This is Clerk Maxwell's view on Heat, or Faraday's on Electricity, or Tyndall's on Light, or Mivart's on Evolution, but I must warn you that you cannot accept any of them under pain of sin, for they are none of them adequately proved. What can be Dr. Mivart's idea of "assent"? Does he suppose it is impossible to yield assent except on what is called adequate or complete evidence? Nothing is "evident" except the facts of sensible experience, the primary intuitions, and syllogistic conclusions from "evident" premisses. Surely I may without rashness or sin "assent" on far less evidence than this? Putting aside divine faith, may I not assent on the word of a man and on a fairly adequate induction? For instance, if a father or a priest tells a child or an ordinary uncultivated person that our Lord said: "This is My Body," such a hearer can most certainly fully and completely assent to and mentally take to his mind that fact, without the necessity of inspecting an original MS. of the Greek Testament. And if a Roman Congregation pronounce a certain doctrine to be contrary to the text of Holy Scripture, the flock would be quite right in assenting to this and accepting it, at least in ordinary circumstances, even though it was known that a Dutch theologian and a Colonial Bishop held the opposite. But Dr. Mivart will say that he is speaking of a case in which a man knows there are grave doubts as to the truth of an ecclesiastical pronouncement; as it might happen, let us say, if the Holy See condemned those who denied the literal universality of the Deluge. Let it be observed, in the first place, that Dr. Mivart does not in his text limit his assertion in this way, but rather as in other instances generalizes in a hasty and unscientific fashion, regardless of the mischief he is doing. Next, speaking to the point itself, I do not mean to go further than to say, that authority is a true and sufficient motive of assent, whilst I admit that, except in the case of infallibility, assent to a pronouncement of authority may be suspended by contrary reasons, and indeed must be, if the reasons are present to the mind and are sufficiently grave. I do not decline to face the difficulty of Galileo's compulsory retraction. It seems to me that either Galileo had sufficiently strong reasons to prevent his mind from making the retraction or not. I think it possible he had not. It does not seem that he had anything like evidence that the earth moved; if he had not, there was no reason why he should not assent to a strong expression of authority, that authority being one to which he owed filial obedience. The mere possibility, without positive proof, that a thing may hereafter be proved false, does not, according to any rational system of assent that I ever studied, prevent a reasonable and complete

assent. Still, if Galileo had present to his mind strong proof of the correctness of his own teachings, I do not hesitate to say that he was wrong, and indeed committed sin, in making the retractation demanded. Dr. Mivart is, however, unfair and unphilosophical in implying that to yield to authority is to yield to "an emotional temptation." He must understand that authority, even fallible authority, is a true and sufficient motive of assent, that the wish to obey such authority is a rational and virtuous motive pleasing to God, and that the duty of opposing and dissenting from authority, though it is conceivable and possible to exist, is one in which there is far more chance of sin than in the opposite. This is the Christian view of the past ages as it is of the Catholic Church of our own day. There has been no new ethical discovery, except in this, that some of the pious "Theists" to whom Dr. Mivart refers have discovered that the claims of their reason are very much opposed to all and every voice which claims to speak with God's authority. What is new, and not pleasant, is that Dr. Mivart should assert or imply that the pious desire of a good Catholic to bring his mind into the "subjection" of faith, and to obey his prelates, is an "emotional temptation." If any act of the will was ever founded on reason, directed by revelation, surely this one is. Does Dr. Mivart hold religion to be merely a species of emotion?

It is a little difficult to understand what Dr. Mivart exactly intends to imply when he talks about certain "ethical advances" which he considers to have been made by us, as compared with our fathers of the seventeenth and earlier centuries. The word "ethical advance" is ambiguous; perhaps it is intended to be so. Ethics mean morality, and an ethical advance means, I suppose, an improvement in morality. Of such improvement he gives three illustrations (in addition to the new commandment, "Thou shalt not believe what is not proved," which I have just treated). These are, first, the recognition of the claims of the individual conscience to practical respect; secondly, the perception of the moral guilt of gambling, as in State lotteries; and, thirdly, the awakening to the fact that animals have rights, and that wanton cruelty is a sin. Now, an improvement in these respects, and in many others, has been in most ages a most desirable thing. But I must confess that Dr. Mivart here again seems to speak as if the world had the advantage of some light, or some teaching, capable of illuminating and assisting the practical teaching of the Catholic Church. In regard to the "claims of individual conscience," he says they (the authorities who condemned Galileo) "appear to have had no glimmering of perception of the practical claims of the most sacred and inalienable of all rights—the rights of conscience" (July 1885, p. 44). By "rights of conscience,"

Dr. Mivart means the right to hold, or to reject, to do, or to refuse to do, anything whatever, provided one thinks that thing right or not right, respectively. This is a principle which, stated in the abstract, is not only not denied but is uniformly taught by Catholic divines of every century. It had been clearly laid down, as Cardinal Newman shows, and as Dr. Mivart admits, by the mediæval theologians. How is it possible, then, that Cardinal Bellarmine and Urban VIII. could have had "no glimmering of perception" of such teaching? Dr. Mivart says he means "perception of the practical" application of the principle. Is it not just possible that these authorities saw practical consequences a good deal more clearly than their critic? Practically, it often happens that what a man calls his conscience deserves very little respect indeed. Practically, a man's so-called conscience has often been very dishonestly come by. Practically, conscience is often a mixture of culpable ignorance and sinful obstinacy.

Conscience [as Cardinal Newman has well said] * cannot perform its office adequately without external assistance; it needs to be regulated and sustained. Left to itself, though it tells truly at first, it soon becomes wavering, ambiguous, and false. . . . That light was intended to set up within us a standard of right and truth; to tell us our duty in every emergency, to instruct us in detail what sin is, to judge between all things which come before us, to discriminate the precious from the vile, to hinder us from being reduced by what is pleasant and agreeable, and to dissipate the sophisms of our reason. But alas! what ideas of truth, what ideas of holiness, what ideas of heroism, what ideas of the good and the great have the multitude of men?

The "authorities" in the seventeenth century knew something of all this. They considered that any man born into and living in the light of Christian truth, if he rejected any portion of that truth, was, on the face of the thing, not honest. And no doubt in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred they judged rightly. In the hundredth case they might be wrong and might endeavour to compel a man to abjure what he conscientiously believed. In that case the man would be bound to refuse such abjuration, and might be a martyr; but the authorities would not necessarily be without "glimmering of perception" of the rights of conscience. The question, it will be observed, is not about Galileo. If Dr. Mivart had confined himself to that case I would willingly have discussed it, and most likely there would be little difference between us. But he again goes out of his way, most unnecessarily, to lay down a wide-stretching assertion, which, as I have shown, so peremptorily requires qualification that, nakedly stated, it amounts practically to false teaching. The process in his own

* "Discourses to Mixed Congregations," pp. 83-4.

mind is transparent; he has worked himself up about Galileo; moreover, he thinks of the many "Theists" who are his friends—who, be it observed, have never lived in Catholic truth, and whose case, therefore, is utterly distinct from any which could easily happen in and before the seventeenth century—and so he enunciates a principle in regard to liberty of conscience which is utterly valueless from an ethical point of view, because it does not apply to the immense majority of the facts. I believe, for my own part, that in modern times and Protestant countries the assertion of an unbeliever that he is acting according to conscience ought certainly to meet with much readier credit than such an assertion should have met with in the ages of faith, or in lands where Catholic truth is uncontradicted. But I do not call this an "ethical advance." It is the application of the old and true morality to a fresh set of circumstances.

As to the "moral guilt of gambling," there is no intrinsic wrong in games of chance where chance is equal. I am not aware, either, that State lotteries are in themselves immoral. I do not for a moment deny that the gambling "frenzy" has done immense harm in many States. But the moral principles involved were perfectly known to mediæval Christian moralists. If Dr. Mivart will read Article CLXVIII. of the "*Secunda Secundæ*," and Cajetan's commentary upon it, he will find the whole subject of gambling treated scientifically from the ethical point of view. As to State lotteries, they no sooner became common than they were prohibited by the Popes in their own States. Alexander VII., well known to Dr. Mivart and the Rev. W. W. Roberts, was, I believe, the first to do so. But it was impossible to stop the lottery in neighbouring States, and the Pope's subjects simply went and gambled elsewhere. The prohibition was, therefore, recalled, and it was decreed that all gains should be given away as alms. Dr. Mivart speaks of the "moral guilt of gambling, as in State lotteries." Does he assert that all "gambling"—that is, every game of pure chance—is immoral? Or does he mean that all State lotteries are immoral? Or does he mean that the State lottery, as a rule, leads to unhealthy excitement, avarice, injustice, and crimes of violence? If he only means the last, he should have said so; and he ought at the same time to have admitted that the moralists of the seventeenth century knew the possible evil of gambling, allowing for difference of circumstances, quite as well as he.

There is still a third "ethical advance" noted in the passage above cited. I am not going to be drawn into a discussion on cruelty to animals. I do not dispute that, in England at least, all of us (except perhaps the biologists) are more disposed to tenderness to the animal creation than our forefathers were.

How far is this "ethical"? Dr. Mivart says, by implication, that we now recognize that animals have "rights." For my own part, I consider this a profoundly unphilosophic proposition. A "right" must be founded upon the end or object for which a creature is placed in the world. Rational beings have "rights," because their Creator intended them to work out their salvation. The Creator's intention is revealed by the nature of the created being; and therefore all rational beings have a right to go "straight" to their end or purpose without being hindered. Rights of property, of immunity from injury, of sustenance, of character, &c., flow from the right to work out an end, as might be easily demonstrated if there were space. But the brute creation have only one purpose, and that is to minister to man, or to man's temporary abode. Now, what exists entirely for the sake of another can have no "rights" against that other. We all practically recognize this, except a fanatic here and there. The butcher slays and tortures, the hunter slays and tortures; the farmer treats beasts like turnips; the gentleman subjects that sensitive animal the horse to the bit, the whip, to captivity, and the load; and the man of science cuts and excruciates. If animals had "rights," all this would be immoral. Your own convenience is no excuse whatever for trespassing on the *rights* of another. I grant, indeed—nay, I most vehemently insist, in concert with all Catholic moralists—that *wanton* infliction of pain is a sin, and may be even a grievous sin. That is wanton which is done without reason, out of mere impulse; this is always sinful, except so far as the want of deliberation may excuse it; and if the impulse in question be some bodily lust, such as cruelty, it is so hardening, degrading, and defiling that when it is quite deliberately indulged in, it easily grows into deadly sin. One preventive against wanton cruelty is a certain power of realizing pain, which generally accompanies refinement of nature. This sensitiveness is often efficacious when conscientious motives produce no effect; just as a finished epicure will loathe the gross indulgences of the working man. The present generation is more refined, shrinking, and "nervous" than its forerunners. Peace, safety, good clothing, and stimulating food have combined to produce a more finely strung organization. The fine lady of to-day shrieks at what her great-grandmother would have rather enjoyed. But what is there "ethical" in all this? We have a physical alteration which perhaps makes a moral precept more easy of observance; but if Dr. Mivart means no more than this he certainly ought to have said so.

I must repeat, in concluding this part of the subject, that I would not for one moment be understood to accuse Dr. Mivart of wishing or intending to disobey the Church, or to nullify

Catholic faith. But liberality is a tempting bait, the periodical press is a dangerous opportunity, and generalizations on theological questions are too often, in the hands of a layman, like the weapon of the savage, which comes back and hurts the man that casts it forth. Dr. Mivart, like myself, and like all of us, only wishes for the triumph of God's word and the salvation of souls. What has been here said he will, I am sure, accept in the spirit of cordiality and desire of truth in which it has been written.

With the Editor's permission, I propose to consider on a future occasion the subject of the inspiration of Holy Scripture, with special reference to the principles on which Catholic men of science ought to meet the destructive criticism of the day.

✠ JOHN CUTHBERT HEDLEY, O.S.B.

Science Notices.

The Total Solar Eclipse of August 19.—During the present century no such promising opportunity for the study of the solar surroundings as that marred by the malice of the elements on August 19 last will again be offered to astronomers. The path of the moon's shadow was almost wholly a land-track. From Frankfort-on-the-Oder, where totality began about sunrise, to Japan, where it finished at sunset, there was hardly a break in the line of advantageous *terra firma* posts of observation. This wide extent of available territory was, for some purposes, equivalent to a prolongation of the scanty and precious moments of complete obscurity. The eclipse might, in a certain sense, be said to last all day. An observation, for instance, begun in Germany, could—weather permitting, and the electric telegraph aiding—be continued, as the shadow swept eastward, in Russia, and concluded in Siberia. A supposed discovery, made, say at Anhalt, instead of waiting for verification during a future eclipse, could be tested within a few hours by successive observers, near Moscow, at Perm, and at Tobolsk. Any changes, moreover, that happened to be in progress in the corona or prominences, might, it was hoped, be recorded photographically at opposite extremities of the line of central eclipse. The preparations for the event were, accordingly, unprecedentedly extensive. Above 300,000 roubles were expended upon them at Moscow and St. Petersburg. Dr. Otto Struve, Director of the Pulkowa Observatory, organized nearly a score of expeditions, native and foreign. Every promising and tolerably accessible point was in scientific occupation. Father Perry and Dr. Copeland, representing the Royal Astronomical Society, enjoyed the hospitality of M. Bredicnin, at Kineschma; Mr. Turner, of the Royal Observatory, took up his position with the Comte de la Baume, at Wyssokovskaja; Tacchini and Ricco came from Rome and Palermo, Young and McNeill from New Jersey, Niesten from Brussels—each with some special problem to solve, some particular question to ask under favour of the lunar shadow; while Professor Upton set himself the task of determining, from barometrical statistics collected at some 170 stations, the movements of the atmosphere due to the *furrow* of cold abruptly drawn through it. The extraordinary popular interest in the forthcoming event was shown by the sale, in Moscow alone, of 400,000 pamphlets and 145,000 glasses. Here and there it was tintured with alarm. Notwithstanding a reassuring circular, appointed by the Holy Synod to be read in all the churches, dire calamities—a whole week's darkness one of the least—were anticipated in certain rural districts. The apprehensions of better-informed persons were of a different nature, and were unfortunately realized. The eclipse indeed took place, but, as M. Cornero remarked, “with

closed doors." The public were not admitted. Inexorable mists curtained the skies. From one station after another accounts of failure, described as "heartrending," came pouring dismally into headquarters. No astronomical skill availed to "make a hole in the clouds." Even Professor Mendelejeff's gallant attempt to rise above them in a balloon was memorable rather as an instance of supreme pluck than for any results achieved by it.

Yet the record is not one of unmixed disaster. Astronomers enterprising enough to cross the Urals were, in general, rewarded with serene weather. A number of good photographs, both of the corona and of its spectrum, were thus secured, and may prove of high value. The solar activity is just now running down towards an expected minimum in 1890. The radiated corona associated with many sun-spots should then, if the theory of varying types be correct, by this time have given way to a less complex structure, considerably extended only in the direction of the sun's equator. The late eclipse ought, in fact, to have revealed a corona modelled with tolerable fidelity on that of 1875, which was itself the forerunner of the strange "winged" aureola of 1878. It is then interesting to learn that M. Niesten traced, at Jurjewitz on the Volga, an equatorial ray of the corona to a distance of one degree from the sun's limb, and the leisurely study of the photographs taken there and elsewhere may be expected to add importantly to the stock of knowledge regarding periodical fluctuations in shape or brightness of the solar appendages.

Dr. Braun's Cosmogony.—The absolute sway over opinion long exercised by Laplace's "Nebular Hypothesis" has of late been qualified by many limitations. No well-informed person can now reasonably assert that the course of planetary development ran along the track laid down for it by the consummate ingenuity of the great French geometer. That track has, indeed, been shown to be, at many points, wholly impracticable. Nevertheless, two assumptions fundamental to the scheme have received countenance, if not confirmation, from modern discoveries. The nebulous fluid, conceived as the building-material of the universe, has been shown by the spectroscope to have an actual existence. Prodigious isolated masses of glowing gaseous stuff are, in point of fact, distributed through space, and may, for aught we can tell, correspond to that initial stage of preparation for the advent of man, when the whole fair system, a nook of which was reserved for his future occupation, was as yet "unformed and void."

Again, the undiminished maintenance through so many ages of the sun's heat can be satisfactorily accounted for only on the supposition of a progressive contraction of its bulk. The solar radiations are, so to speak, paid for out of gravitational energy. The heat which vivifies our earth has its source in the gradual falling together of the particles constituting the vast mass of the sun. This means that in times past they were enormously more diffused than they are now. We have only indeed to go back far enough to find ourselves confronted with a central body so voluminous as to fill the orbs of

all the planets with attenuated matter, faintly luminous, perhaps, with the same rays that reach us from the great nebula in Orion.

During the process of condensation, and out of the primitive substance of the sun, the planets must then, so far as we can see, have in some way been formed. So much of the nebular cosmogony remains intact. But the method of their formation set forth in it must be rejected. The problem, complicated as it is by innumerable details of recently added knowledge, once more invites solution.

The latest competitor is the Jesuit astronomer, Dr. Carl Braun, well-known for the systematic observations of sun-spots which distinguished his directorate of the observatory founded in 1878 by Cardinal Haynald at Kalocsa in Hungary. A series of chapters on Cosmogony, originally published by him in 1885-6, in the Catholic periodical, *Natur und Offenbarung*, have, collected in a separate form, attracted deserved attention. Having first shown the admissibility, from the most strictly orthodox point of view, of such discussions, when conducted in a spirit of becoming reverence, he proceeds to unfold his view of planetary growth. Although he seeks, not like M. Faye, to abolish, but merely to reform the nebular cosmogony, the emendations proposed by him are so numerous and so fundamental as to leave erect the barest shell of the original structure.

The most characteristic feature of Laplace's scheme was the annuation consequent upon the cooling and contraction of the primitive nebula. It represented each planet as the outcome of the agglomeration of a separated ring. The objection, however, that globes so produced should possess a *retrograde* rotation is fully admitted by Dr. Braun. Hence, to Neptune alone can, in his opinion, an annular origin be ascribed; while the anomalous conditions of the Uranian system mark a transition from the ring-method of formation to that by "centres of condensation," exclusively prevalent from Saturn to Mercury. Some apparently casual want of homogeneity in the nebulous stuff constituted, according to this hypothesis, the first germ of a planet. A nucleus once formed, accessions to it were inevitable; as it condensed it descended towards the sun; along the slow spirals of approach fresh matter was continually swept up and appropriated, while the increase of density inwards of the medium in which it moved imparted to the growing body a *direct* movement of rotation. Eventually all the nebulous stuff, at first equally diffused, became concentrated in distinct globular masses, interplanetary space remained clear, and the planets settled down in the relatively fixed orbits they at present pursue.

But this is not all. The bodies constituting the solar system are not turned out on one uniform pattern. They possess marked individual peculiarities, suggesting individual vicissitudes of history. They travel each in a different plane; the axis of rotation of each is differently inclined to that plane; each orbit has its own degree of eccentricity. In order to account for these distinctive features, Dr. Braun has recourse to a somewhat questionable expedient. Masses of nebulous matter, of which we see the feeble remnants in comets, were, he supposes, continually rushing in upon our embryo

system. By collisions with them the conditions of existence of each of its members were profoundly modified and finally determined. This explanation is, however, unsatisfactory just in the proportion that it is flexible. It accounts for nothing, simply because it can be made to account for anything. Its adoption by so acute a reasoner as Dr. Braun is significant of the arduous nature of the effort to retrace in thought the processes by which our sun and the train of orbs dependent upon him were severally fitted to the various, and to us for the most part unknown, purposes of an all-wise Creator.

The Pleiades.—Dr. Elkin has lost no time in turning the new heliometer of Yale College to profitable account. The results of his measurement with it of sixty-nine stars in the Pleiades have been published this year. Their comparison with the similar determination by Bessel, forty-five years previously, of the relative places of fifty-two of these same stars, is of special interest as a test of interstitial movement in a stellar cluster. The upshot is, Dr. Elkin observes, discouraging to “hopes of obtaining any clue to the internal mechanism of this cluster in an immediate future.” The general character of the displacements brought to light is “extremely minute”; and “the bright stars in especial seem to form an almost rigid group.” Six stars, however, stand out from the rest as exceptional. They appear to be in comparatively rapid motion. But this appearance is due simply to their being exempt from the general south-easterly drift of the cluster. It is leaving them behind. The curious fact is thus indicated that these six stars, though visually *among* the Pleiades, are not *of* them. There is no physical tie between them and the rest of their temporary associates. Their relative immobility shows them to be probably more remote; and the inference of unfathomable distance is confirmed by the faintness of their light. This is the first example of the successful *analysis* of a star-cluster.

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION MEETING, 1837.

The meeting of the British Association at Manchester this year, though spoken of as a great success, was not so interesting, we think, in a scientific point of view, as some other meetings have been, and notably that of last year. Still, tastes and pursuits vary among men of science as amongst other people; and the Association, with its annual succession of Presidents, naturally enough differs each year as to the branch of physical study presented most conspicuously to the public. Formerly it has been Biology or Geology; on this occasion it was mainly Chemistry; and the address of the President, Sir Henry Roscoe, was almost exclusively devoted to a statement of the progress made by that science, of which he is so able and enlightened an expositor, during the fifty years of Her Majesty's reign. And it is wonderful, beyond all doubt, to note how great that progress has been. “In the year 1837,” Sir Henry Roscoe says, “chemistry was a very different science from that existing at the present moment.” Notwithstanding the discoveries

of Priestley, Lavoisier, Faraday, and others, there was at that time no knowledge of what are termed chemical dynamics; nor was much known of organic chemistry: it was customary to attribute to a supposed agency called Vital Force those functions of living beings which are now believed to be controlled by the same forces, chemical and physical, that regulate the changes occurring in the inanimate world. Still, in 1837 John Dalton was living, and living at Manchester; and the atomic theory, "upon which the modern science of chemistry may truly be said to be based," owes its origin to him. The atom is the infinitely small component of the element to which it belongs. It has been supposed that the diameter of an atom of oxygen or nitrogen is one ten-millionth of a centimetre; or, to take another method of calculation, since our best microscopes magnify from 6,000 to 8,000 times, if we suppose that the minutest creatures we can now see were themselves provided with equally powerful microscopes, they would be able to see the atoms.

"And here it may be well," as Sir Henry Roscoe remarks, "to emphasize the distinction which the chemist draws between the atom and the molecule, the latter being a more or less complicated aggregation of atoms, and especially to point out the fundamental difference between the question of separating the atoms in the molecule and that of splitting up the atom itself." This latter, in Dalton's opinion, was impossible; and recent experiments have tended to confirm that opinion.

On the question that has exercised some modern chemists, and among others Mr. Crookes, who discussed it in his brilliant address to the Chemical Section of the Association last year—of which we gave a brief notice in the January number of this *REVIEW*—namely, whether the so-called elements are not really compound bodies, or at least, whether they do not contain some basic matter common to all: that is, whether all the elements were not originally evolved from one and the same primordial matter—on this the President pronounces no decided opinion; but Professor Schunck, in his address to the Chemical Section this year, intimates his dissent from such doctrine. We may remark too, by the way, that if this doctrine were true, the ancient alchemists, utterly chimerical as their researches were in a practical point of view, were not so wrong in theory as they are commonly supposed to have been.

To return to Sir Henry Roscoe. He calls attention to the great work done by another Manchester scientist—one still living—James Prescott Joule, "to whom," as he says, "we owe the foundation of chemical dynamics, and the basis of thermal chemistry." It was, in fact, Joule who first determined the mechanical equivalent of heat, showing by experiment that by the expenditure of energy equal to that developed by the weight of 772 pounds falling through one foot (in the latitude of Manchester), the temperature of one pound of water can be raised 1° Fahrenheit. This discovery, involving as it does the great principle of the "conservation of energy," is justly considered the greatest achievement of modern science.

Sir Henry Roscoe, after alluding to the recent investigations in the region of electrical chemistry, brings before us what he terms "the astounding progress made in the wide field of organic synthesis"—the process, that is to say, by which chemists are able to produce artificially substances that exist naturally in the organic world; but he warns those enthusiasts that imagine some future chemist may go further, and may "gather the elements of lifeless matter into a living structure," how illusory such expectations will prove.

Towards the close of his address, he touches on the investigations of Pasteur, and expresses an undoubting confidence in the success of his method of treating hydrophobia, and of dealing with persons bitten by rabid animals—a confidence which we believe the public at the present moment do not entirely share.

In the address to the CHEMICAL Section, Professor Schunck travels over a portion of the same ground as Sir Henry Roscoe, reminding his hearers of the enormous progress made by chemistry in the last fifty years, and remarking that it could hardly be called a science when he first entered on his studies (which was exactly fifty years ago), but was rather a collection of isolated facts.

After touching on the marvellous success attending modern experiments, he (like the President of the Association) expresses a confident opinion "that we shall never succeed in forming any really organized matter." Indeed, as he observes later on:—

The very first steps of the process whereby organic or organized matter is formed in plants are hardly understood. We understand still less the further steps leading to the production of the more complex vegetable bodies—acids, alkaloids, fatty matters. . . . When we think of the complicated process by which indigo is produced in the laboratory, with the various substances and appliances required, and then see how in the minutest seed-leaves of a plant like woad, a still more complex substance, indican, is found ready formed, we stand confounded at the simplicity of the apparatus employed by the plant, and are obliged to confess that we have no conception of the means whereby the end is obtained.

Evidently chemistry, like many other things, has its limits.

The address to the BIOLOGICAL Section, delivered by Professor Newton, was devoted in great measure to a glorification of the service done to natural history by the late Mr. Darwin—a thought suggested to him by the expected publication of the *Life and Letters* of this celebrated biologist by his son Mr. Francis Darwin, a work of which he had been allowed to see some of the proof sheets, and of which he had formed sanguine anticipations. Mr. Newton did not touch on any of the intricate questions which have recently caused some difference of opinion among the principal expounders of the doctrine of evolution, and which, it may be remembered, were discussed by some speakers at the meeting of the Association at Birmingham.

The GEOGRAPHICAL Section is generally a great centre of attraction, and was probably so in an especial degree this year, from its being presided over by so well-known a man as Colonel Sir Charles

Warren. His address was mainly directed to the question of the teaching of geography in our schools, "and the economy and advantage to the State which would result from a more perfect and skilful system of instruction." We extract one or two passages (not immediately bearing on this particular question, but noteworthy for other reasons). He says:—

In the books of Moses, 3,000 years ago, we obtain our first recorded view of the cosmogony of the ancients, at which time the world is supposed to be a flat disc with water surrounding the land, and this idea pervades later books, and is dwelt upon in the Psalms of David. . . . The idea that the sun, moon, stars, and planets revolved round the earth was the view in early days, and continued up to quite a recent period, and even now we are unable to prove that the generally received system is correct, and only use it as being more convenient than that which makes the earth the centre of the universe.

The first of these two passages conveys a false impression, if it means that it is explicitly stated in Scripture that the earth is a flat disc surrounded by water; though if it merely means that some such idea was running in the minds of the sacred writers (who were not inspired upon purely scientific matters), and that they used the language which was in common acceptance at the time they wrote, it may be true enough. The second passage greatly understates the evidence for the modern system of astronomy, though we must allow that this system cannot be strictly verified by any process of absolute demonstration. We give one more quotation, and on a totally different subject:

It is possible that a more full geographical knowledge of Egypt and the Suez Canal might have materially modified our present occupation of Egypt. The Canal could not be held without a fresh-water supply, and the possession of Cairo and the Nile is the key to the fresh-water canal supplying Ismailia and Suez. Had it been known that a plentiful supply of water could be obtained close to the marine canal, independent of the Nile water, it is questionable how far any occupation of Egypt would have been necessary.

This, if correct, is indeed curious.

The address to the GEOLOGICAL Section was given by Mr. Woodward; that to the Section of ECONOMIC SCIENCE and STATISTICS by Mr. Giffen, who chose for his topic the Recent Rate of Material Progress in England; that to the MECHANICAL Section by Professor Osborne Reynolds; while the ANTHROPOLOGICAL Section had for its President Professor Sayce, who read an important dissertation on the *vexata questio* of the original habitat of the Aryan race. This point was subsequently sifted still further in a learned paper read to the Section by Canon Isaac Taylor, who maintained the Finnic origin of the Aryans. Space does not permit of our enlarging on these four addresses.

There is, however, one other Presidential address which we must notice, that delivered to the MATHEMATICAL and PHYSICAL Section by Sir Robert Ball, Astronomer Royal for Ireland. It is noteworthy as being an attempt to clothe in semi-scientific language,

such as might be intelligible to a mixed audience, the treatment of a subject belonging to theoretical mechanics, and lying within the region of advanced mathematics. It is called the "Theory of Screws," but it has nothing to do with screws of commerce manufactured at Birmingham or elsewhere; it means, in fact, that mathematical curve which the screw represents, and which is usually known by its Greek name *Helix*. A large number of people assembled to hear the witty Irish astronomer, who endeavoured to popularize his discourse by detailing the labours of an imaginary committee chosen to investigate a certain rigid body, "a huge amorphous mass," to ascertain why it remained at rest, and how it could be moved. It was lying under all sorts of constraints, cords, links, &c. One of the members of the committee, Mr. Helix, soon found that it could be moved by being twisted on a screw with a suitable pitch, prepared by the aid of a skilful mechanic; he then found a second screw, round which the body could twist; it was moreover shown that it could also be twisted round a myriad of other screws forming a certain "graceful ruled surface known as the cylindroid." Once again Mr. Helix detected a third screw, about which it could also be twisted, besides those already mentioned, and then it appeared that it was "free to twist about ranks upon ranks of screws all beautifully arranged by their pitches upon a system of hyperboloids." A subsequent question arose as to how the force should be applied to cause the body to move. It became evident that this should be done by applying a wrench on some screw; but upon what screw? The screw on which the impulse would be given was to be called the impulsive screw, that on which the body twisted the instantaneous screw. One of the most enlightened members of the committee (after various experiments) expounded to the others the theory of homographic screws.

All the impulsive screws form one system, and all the instantaneous screws form another system, and these two systems are homographic. . . . You will only have to determine a few pairs of impulsive and instantaneous screws by experiment. The number of such pairs need never be more than seven. When these have been found the homography is completely known. The instantaneous screw corresponding to every impulsive screw will then be completely determined by geometry both pure and beautiful.

Experiments having proved the truth of this theory, the same enlightened geometer discovered subsequently that in the two homographic systems just mentioned, there would be a limited number (never more than six) of double screws common to both systems; and it was found that if an impulsive wrench were imparted to the body on one of these, it would commence to twist round the identical screw on which the wrench was imparted: these were designated "the principal screws of inertia." Certain experiments were also made upon small oscillations, and certain screws discovered to which was given the name of "harmonic screws." Finally, one bold member of the imaginary committee sketched a geometrical conception of a "screw-chain," by which he said he could compel the

most elaborate system of rigid bodies to conform to the theory of screws; he even showed that all the instantaneous motions of every molecule in the universe were only a twist upon one screw-chain, while all the forces of the universe were but a wrench upon another.

Readers may judge how far such a paper was understood by the people assembled in the room where this Section of the Association met. During the course of it, when one of the supposed interlocutors asked for something in ordinary language to explain the meaning of "principal screws of inertia," and that the theory might be put into some extreme shape that ordinary mortals could understand, there arose a murmur of applause from some of the bewildered listeners; but they were probably not much satisfied by the explanation given by another imaginary personage, who stated that if the body be free only to rotate round a fixed point the principal screws of inertia reduce to the three principal axes drawn through the point; while the wrenches (still remaining such) are on screws of infinite pitch. Such language, familiar though it be to the mathematician, must have conveyed a somewhat imperfect light to a considerable portion of Sir Robert Ball's audience.

On a subsequent day in the ANTHROPOLOGICAL Section a discussion took place on the migration of pre-glacial man, it being doubted whether he arrived in Britain from a Northward region or from the South. Researches had been continued at the Cae-Gwynn Cave in North Wales, which seemed to confirm the opinion that man had existed there before the formation of the glacial deposits. The date of the last glacial period is, of course, uncertain; if Mr. Croll's theory were true, it must carry us to a date at least 95,000 years back; but other causes than those assigned by him may well have been in action, and the period in question may perhaps be of much more recent date. A curious question, by the way, bearing indirectly on the antiquity of man, was raised lately in the scientific paper *Nature*, by a writer whose investigations tended to show that the stature of the human race had increased in the course of generations, and was still on the increase; in fact, if his calculations were trustworthy, that it increased at about the rate of 1.25 inch (on the average) in every 1,000 years. Now, if this were a constant rate of increase, it is obvious that after 30,000 years there would be a difference of more than three feet in the height of the average man from that found at the commencement of the thirty thousand years, whereas if we took such a figure as 60,000 years, man at the beginning of his career on earth must have been such a pigmy as we cannot conceivably suppose. Probably there is some doubtful element in both calculations, that relating to the antiquity of man, and that connected with the constant increase of human stature.

In the BIOLOGICAL Section there arose one day a question as to the opinion of Lamarck on hereditary transmission of acquired characters; this, if true, would be contrary to the doctrine of Darwin. Dr. Ray Lankester originated the discussion, and the general feeling seemed to be against the opinion of Lamarck.

In the GEOLOGICAL Section there was exhibited by Professor Seeley a remarkable fossil, showing the development of the young of the plesiosaurus. The plesiosaurs thus shown were most minute in size, but in a wonderful state of preservation. It was stated that no more remarkable fossil had ever been found.

In a "sub-section," that met one day to consider questions connected with farming, Professor Fream read a paper on "Preventible Loss in Agriculture." He maintained that the English farmer suffered greatly from his ignorance of the character of the seeds he was in the habit of purchasing—a startling fact (if fact it be), since one would have thought that practical experience would supply the want of theoretical knowledge—also from his ignorance of the properties and affinities of seeds, and other matters.

In another paper read by Mr. Jamieson, on the "Theory of Rent," were one or two noteworthy remarks—as, for instance, that "the motive of entail and settlement was to preserve land from the incubus of debt; and the habit that had within the last century been engendered of obtaining land on mortgage he regarded as one of deeper danger to the owners of land, and of greater injury to the community, than the older system just spoken of, and the still more ancient system of primogeniture, which, it appeared, was to be superseded."

In the MECHANICAL Section a paper was read, followed by a discussion, on the scheme of constructing a ship-canal to Manchester; and in the same section an interesting communication was made by Mr. Cowper and Mr. W. Anderson, relating to some important experiments made by them on the mechanical equivalent of heat: it appeared that the results obtained by them differed slightly from those got by Mr. Joule some years ago, but still that they confirmed his conclusions upon the whole.

There were lectures also given at the Free Trade Hall (a building calculated to hold a large number of people), by Professor Dixon, on the "Rate of Explosions in Gases;" by Mr. George Forbes, to working men, on the subject of "Electric Lighting;" and by Sir Francis de Winton, on "Exploration in Central Africa."

Such were the leading features of the meeting of the British Association at Manchester. The attendance was very large, 3,833 tickets having been issued for the regular members and for those who joined for this particular occasion, and of these at least 1,300 were ladies. It may, however, be observed that not all the associates are actuated by the pure love of science, many being doubtless attracted by the excursions and social gatherings which always form a part of the proceedings. One of these latter consisted in an invitation to the members of the Association to be present at a soirée at the Jubilee Exhibition (as it is termed), where, among other things, there is to be seen one of the finest collections of modern English pictures, lent by their owners, that has ever been brought together.

We think we notice a growing tendency to absent themselves from these meetings on the part of the leading men of science in England, and if this continues, a loss of prestige must be the result; a loss

which will scarcely be counter-balanced by the grants of money to various scientific objects which are always given, and were given somewhat largely this year, owing to the considerable amount accruing from the large attendance of associates. The meeting next year is to be held at Bath.

F. R. W-P.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

The Natives of the Canary Islands.—The Guanches, as the aborigines of the Canaries are called, have been the subject, during the last twenty-five years, of the researches of Dr. Chil, of Las Palmas, who has brought to light many interesting particulars concerning them. He has formed a museum in his native town, of objects illustrating their social condition when first visited by the Spaniards in 1402, proving them, notwithstanding their total isolation from the rest of the world, to have made considerable progress in several handicrafts, as well as in the tillage of the soil. They were then still in the Stone Age, as all their implements were manufactured from the basaltic rocks of the islands, and they had no tools of iron or any other metal. They were nevertheless so skilful in tanning leather, that the goatskin and pigskin used in covering their dead, remains in perfect preservation after the lapse of centuries. They also showed considerable ingenuity in sewing leather with needles made of fish-bones, or the sharp-pointed leaves of the palm. In the ceramic arts they had made some progress, fabricating vases of large size and elegant patterns, ornamented with red and black lines, and recalling in some respects the ancient Egyptian pottery. Their chief weapon of offence was a cudgel, while for defensive armour they wore wooden shields, and with these primitive arms they made a desperate defence against the Spaniards. They had neither wheel-carriages nor any form of boat, but erected buildings of sufficient architectural pretension to be dignified by their conquerors with the name of palaces, the remains of some of which are still to be seen on the island of Fuerte Ventura.

Religion of the Guanches.—Their moral and ethical culture was, however, far in advance of their material civilization. Although accused of idolatry by the Spaniards as some excuse for their own cruelties, they seem to have been in reality Theists, believing in a Supreme Being, who punished vice and rewarded virtue, especially that of courage. They had convents of monks and nuns, the seclusion of the latter being so rigorous that the sight of a man constituted a mortal sin. Their moral code was so strictly enforced that a woman transgressing it forfeited her life, while the separation

of the sexes in public was so absolute that they were not even allowed to use the same roads. The Guanches resembled the Peruvians and ancient Egyptians in their mode of preserving the bodies of their dead, and the process of embalming was conducted with great care, though its actual details have not been discovered. The corpse was surrounded by twigs of aromatic trees, and wrapped in numerous coverings of leather, the mummies being eventually deposited in caverns, where many of them still remain, or placed on the ground, sheltered by small tumuli.

Present Condition of the Guanches.—In the mountainous districts occupying the centres of the seven inhabited islands, the Guanches still constitute the bulk of the population. They are tall and robust, with elongated faces and prominent chins, and the occasional occurrence of light hair and complexion amongst them testifies to a certain intermixture of European blood. This was due to the internment in the Canaries of 7,000 out of the 20,000 French soldiers taken prisoners at the capitulation of Baylen, many of whom in 1814 refused to leave, having by that time married Guanche women and identified themselves with the natives. It is said that the French songs of that period may still be heard among the descendants of the mixed race sprung from these colonists. The language of the modern Guanches is Spanish, and scarcely a trace of their original speech has been discovered, as they did not possess the art of writing, though they had schools where the national songs and traditions were taught.—*The Globe*, August 1, 1887.

The Trade of Constantinople.—The Report of Consul-General Fawcett on the trade of Constantinople during the past year states that six monopolies were granted during that period by the Ottoman Government. These were: a foundry, a glass factory, one for the manufacture of ice, and establishments for the manufacture of pottery and porcelain, of linen, cotton yarns and tissues, and of paper. These monopolies, which extend to the whole province of Constantinople, were in all cases save one conferred on Ottoman officials. It is pointed out in respect to the mohair trade, that while down to 1884 the entire export was to Bradford, the United States and Russia have now entered the market as competitors, the former having taken over 12,000, and the latter about 2,000 bales, out of a total export of 57,720 bales, a fact which seems to threaten the Bradford spinners with formidable competition. From the mohair producing districts the accounts are very unfavourable, the continued drought having withered up the pasturages and reduced the goats to live on roots, which have developed disease amongst them, producing great mortality. The Report further calls attention to the fact that Constantinople is gradually losing its position as the centre of distribution for imported cotton goods to the provincial towns, and that the other Black Sea ports are beginning to deal with Manchester direct. Thus Macedonia and Albania, instead of being supplied from the Constantinople market, have, since the revolution in Eastern Roumelia, abandoned it for Salonica, while Southern Asia Minor is supplied through Beyrout or Mersine. For the finer qualities of goods and

novelties, Constantinople, on the other hand, still remains the great *entrepôt* of the East.

New Through Route to India.—An Imperial iradé, published in the *Official Gazette* of Constantinople on August 9, sanctions the construction of a railway from Scutari to Bagdad by a group of British financiers, to whom the preference has been given over French competitors. The latter advocated the use of the narrow gauge system, which lessens the first cost of construction at the expense of speed and efficiency, and it was owing to the personal decision of the Sultan that the wide gauge system was finally adopted, and the concession granted to Messrs. Alt and Zeefelder, the lessees of the Haidar-Pasha and Ismid Railway. This latter section will be relaid to get rid of the sharp curves at present existing, and to enable a speed of fifty miles an hour to be reached, while its prolongation from Haidar-Pasha to Scutari will provide it with a terminus port well protected in all weathers. These works are to be set on foot at once, as well as the extension to Ada-Bazar, the first stage on the road to Angora and Bagdad. Much is expected from the new line, not only as regards the development of the resources of Asia Minor, but as a step towards the restoration of Constantinople to her old position of commercial pre-eminence as the emporium of the East. At present a sum of £3,000,000 is annually spent abroad, principally in Russia, in provisioning the Ottoman capital with flour, butter, and meat, articles produced in Anatolia in such abundance as would leave a large surplus for exportation after supplying the whole of Turkey. The Angora district, which the new line will traverse, produces mohair, tallow, grain, hides, cattle, and fruit; and the increase in tithes from the development of all these industries is assigned to the company as a guarantee by the Imperial Government. The new line will bring India nearer to England by four or five days, and will be shorter than either the Pacific or Siberian route, while it will be the great through highway from Asia Minor to Persia and Kurdistan, to which it follows the present caravan road.

French Commercial Treaty with China.—A new Commercial Treaty has been negotiated between France and China in place of the abortive one of which the ratification was refused by France last year. In the present negotiations her representative has been more successful, and has obtained some valuable concessions, though by no means as many as were hoped for. The delimitation of the frontier has in the first place been settled in a sense favourable to China, the peninsula of Paklung, to which much value was attached by both parties, having been given up to her. She has also obtained the right to maintain consuls in Tonkin, though this innovation is not without political danger in countries where the Chinese population is so numerous and disaffected as in the French Red River colony. China again has refused the demand for the importation of salt across the Yunnan frontier, which would have interfered with the Government monopoly of its sale. This commodity, together with opium, furnishes the chief staple of the smuggling trade of Southern

China, and cargoes are run in heavily-armed junks, which are always prepared, in the last resort, to fight the cruisers of the revenue. Against the refusal of this demand may be set the concession of the right to import opium from Tonkin into China, paying of course the heavy duty levied on the foreign drug under Marquis Tseng's convention. It is not thought that the Indian trade is likely to suffer appreciably by French competition, as the cultivation of opium in Tonkin remains yet to be tried. The next point on which China has yielded is the opening of four points instead of two on her southern frontier to French trade, with a further reduction in the customs tariff at those places, where it was already one-third lower than at the sea-ports. France will thus have the entry on advantageous terms into Southern China, and though Eastern Yunnan, the country reached by the Red River route, is barren and poverty-stricken, the trade of Kwangsi, directly to the north of Tonkin, may be capable of development, and would find the easiest outlet through the French colony as soon as its communications are improved by railways or even roads.

Proposed New Port on the Canton River.—In order to place British merchants on an equal footing with their French rivals, it is suggested that the Chinese Government should be asked to open a new treaty port on the upper part of the Canton river, Nan-ning being mentioned as the most suitable. Although it lies 700 miles from the sea, the river is navigable to this point by light-draught steamers, while junks of considerable size can go several hundred miles higher. As it would be more easily accessible from Hong Kong than from the French port of Haiphong, British goods would have an advantage over those of their rivals, and the vast regions of Southern China would be thrown open to trade. The effect of opening an inland treaty port is to abolish the inland transit dues, or *likin*, exacted at frequent intervals on merchandize in China, so that it is delivered after payment of only a duty of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, as at the sea-ports. Since there are from fifty to a hundred *likin* stations between Canton and Nan-ning, the total amount of dues paid by goods in transit must be very large, and the effect on trade of their abolition should be proportionally great. The consent of the Chinese Government would, it is thought, be easily obtained, as they raised no grave objection when the question was mooted once before by Sir Harry Parkes. The trade route opened up by the French will of course only benefit themselves, as by their tariff regulations all other goods are practically excluded from their colonies.

Proposed Railways for Tonkin.—The Technical Commission on the Tonkin Railways, whose Report is now published, has ascertained that the ports giving access to Tonkin nearest the Delta, and sheltered from the mud deposits of the rivers, lie in the maritime tract between the island of Doson and the Bay of Along, and is of opinion that Port Courbet is the deep-water harbour which ought to be the starting-point of the Tonkin Railway system. This point is connected with the fluvial network of streams, and is the centre of an important coal-basin. It will be the terminus of the line connect-

ing Hanoi with the sea, which, passing through Bacninh, the Seven Pagodas, Dongnien, and Quangyen will avoid the loose muds of the Delta, and lie for two-thirds of its course through a fertile and populous country.

This line [continues the Report] has immediate importance from the political, administrative, and military points of view. As regards its economical importance, though considerable from the beginning, it will not take its full development until the railway network has been extended towards the centres of production and consumption in the interior of the continent.

Four secondary lines have been examined by the Commission, intended to connect Hanoi and its trunk-line with districts rich in mineral and agricultural wealth, or with places likely to become *entrepôts* of trade between Tonkin and the neighbouring countries. The first of these lines, the Kwangsi, would leave the trunk-line at Bacninh, and proceed to Langson by the traditional and historical road between Annam and China. The French engineers have already constructed a carriage road along this line, which is intended to be eventually continued towards the Chinese town of Lien-Chow. The second extension, or Yunnan line, would be a continuation of the trunk-line running along the banks of the Red River, and connecting Vietri and Laokai. A third line, whose course cannot at present be laid down, would proceed towards Laos and the basin of the Mekong; while a fourth, connecting Tonkin with Northern Annam, would follow the Mandarin road from Hanoi to Hue, and provide for the region of the Namdinh. Of these four secondary lines, the Commission thinks that a first network might be formed composed of the lines from Hanoi to Port Courbet, from Hanoi to Langson, and from Hanoi to Laokai. The sections of which the importance is immediate and undoubted are the whole of the line from the sea and the line from Laokai to Vietri.

The Commission recommends that the Protectorate should form the permanent way, and that the superstructure and working of the lines should be handed over to private industry. The Protectorate would get the permanent way constructed by means of the Annamite *corvée*, required instead of payment of taxes. The share capital would amount to at least 5,000,000 francs, but it might be increased progressively, so as never to be less than one-fourth of the expenses and advances made.—*Times*, August 30, 1887.

American Enterprise in China.—Autograph letters from Li Hung Chang to Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State in Washington, brought by the Chinese Imperial Envoy to the United States Government, describe in detail the concessions granted to Messrs. Barker's syndicate, and fully confirm the telegram in which the Shanghai correspondent of the *Standard* first announced this great financial *coup*. The charter confers on the American capitalists the sole right to coin money, empowers them to receive and disburse the funds belonging to the Imperial and Provincial Treasuries, and authorizes them to finance and construct railways, telegraphs, canals, river improvements and drainage systems. They will take over the existing

telegraphs and have a fifty years' monopoly of all telephonic communication, while they will co-operate with the Chinese Government in the erection of forts, arsenals, and all public works, as well as in the construction of fleets.

Progress of Stanley's Expedition.—Letters from Stanley down to June 12 give satisfactory accounts of his progress and prospects so far. They had then reached the Rapids of the Biyerre or Aruwimi river, the great northern affluent of the Congo, and were more than 1,000 miles from Stanley Pool, and over 1,300 from the Atlantic Ocean. At this point an intrenched camp was constructed, in which a garrison of 180 men was to be left behind, while the march to the Albert Nyanza would be effected by a force of 414 men, or 360 rifles and fifty-four supernumeraries. The distance remaining to be traversed overland was 360 miles, which might possibly be accomplished in thirty days. Supposing the Expedition had reached Wadelai at the end of June, a messenger despatched thence to the coast would arrive there in the beginning or middle of October, which, according to Sir Francis de Winton's calculation, is the earliest date at which fresh news is to be looked for. Emin Pasha is supposed to be now somewhere to the south of the Albert Nyanza, and to have been engaged in ascertaining the true limits of that lake and its connection with the Muta Nzige, which were among the secondary objects kept in view by Stanley's Expedition. He may, it is thought, advance to meet the latter on hearing of his approach, thus curtailing the length of his difficult march. There seems no reason to apprehend actual hostilities on the part of the natives, as those as yet met are in a state of disintegration, fragments of tribes being found mixed together without social coherence or stability.

Chinchona Planting in Réunion.—Now that losses on coffee and sugar have turned the attention of most planters in British tropical and sub-tropical colonies, particularly Ceylon and the West Indies, to the culture of bark, the *Times* of August 23, 1887, deems it opportune to call attention to the system pursued in the island of Réunion, described by Mr. St. John in his last Consular Report, since the difficulty of removing the bark seems to be more successfully overcome there than elsewhere. The plantations are generally made in forests at an altitude of 4,000 feet, where no high trees grow, but only brushwood. Parallel alleys, from five to six feet wide, are made in spots sheltered from the wind, while intervening strips of brushwood, ten feet wide, serve still further to protect the young plants from the violent gales prevailing here. In the alleys holes twenty inches in diameter, and of a like depth, are dug at intervals of fifteen feet, and refilled with the earth removed, with a mixture of mould added. A little mound is thus formed in which the young plants are set, attaining at the end of seven or eight years a diameter of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, when they are ready to be worked by the following process. Towards October, when the sap resumes its upward movement, and the bark is more easily detached, the plants are cut two inches from the ground and the bark stripped off and placed in the sun to dry. A number of young shoots spring from

the stump, of which only as many as it can nourish must be allowed to grow, and which at the end of another seven or eight years will supply a fresh crop. By this plan, said to be more economical than that pursued in Java, the plant perpetually renews itself with little expense. Sugar cultivation has been as unprofitable in Réunion as elsewhere, so that the French Government has been obliged to come to the assistance of the planters, allowing them to import 12 per cent. of their production duty free into France.

Oases of the Sahara.—The number of the fertile spots interspersed among the arid wastes of the Great Desert is constantly increasing from the gradual discovery and utilization of its subterranean springs. The Lower Sahara is an immense basin of artesian waters, and in one of its depressions, the Ouad Rir, there are now fifty-three oases, giving a collective population of 13,000 for the district. It has 525 palm-trees in full bearing, planted, that is to say, more than seven years, 120,000 trees between one and seven years old, and 100,000 fruit trees, while the annual value of the dates grown there averages £100,000. The oases of Laghouat and Ouad Mizi and those of Yeryville and Ain Safia have 100,000 palm trees, and those of Figuig 140,000, while Mzab, with its 30,000 inhabitants, nearly all shepherds or merchants, cultivates 200,000. Zab, together with the Sahara slope of the Aurès, has fifty oases, which grow 900,000 palms, and 500,000 fruit trees. Sout, with a population of 15,000, has 150,000 palm-trees of the choicest sorts, and over 50,000 fruit-trees. Lastly, the various oases of Ouargla have over 400,000 palm and 100,000 fruit-trees. These results, together with the trade in wool, the cultivation of corn, tobacco, vegetables, vines, and other plants grown under shelter of the palms, and the breeding of ostriches, which, it is thought, might be made as profitable as at the Cape, are due partly to native and partly to French enterprise, though the latter have only begun to colonize the Sahara during the last ten years. They began by buying oases and gardens in the Zab and Ouad Rir, and then set to work to create fresh oases in the region of Bishra, the result showing that Europeans can withstand the climate, especially as they do not work themselves, but superintend native labourers, who are described as skilful and active.—*Times*, September 3, 1887.

Cuba as an Eldorado.—A recent Consular Report describes the eastern side of the island of Cuba as full of mineral wealth, iron especially being found in great abundance and of high quality. Copper, zinc, and lead are also present, and encouraging accounts are given of occasional finds of gold. One miner some years ago chanced on a "pocket" which gave 1,000 dollars a day for a fortnight, and others report to having worked places yielding from twelve to fifteen dollars a ton. More satisfactory evidence of the productiveness of the Cuban gold mines is afforded by the analysis of samples of ore sent to London for assay, the richest specimens of which gave as much as five ounces per 100 lb., while the poorest contained four ounces per ton, a proportion yielding a large profit on working.

French Travellers in Asia.—The French explorers, MM. Bonvalot, Papas, and Pepin, reached Simla on August 24, and, after an interview with the Viceroy, started for home. According to the summary of their journey in the Lahore *Civil and Military Gazette*, they left Teheran in April 1886, proceeded by the Meshed and Herat boundary, and visited Khorasan, Sarakhs, Merv, Bokhara, and Samarcand. Thence they were ordered back; but eventually went by Khokan, Margilan, Osch, Toulcha, and Akbasvga, to the Gadish Pass, and across the Alai mountains, where the cold froze the mercury, and the air was so rarefied they could scarcely breathe. The snow was seven feet deep, and they were sometimes obliged to travel by night to avoid avalanches, and to follow the footprints of wolves in order to find the road. Here they could only travel about four miles a day, and their followers deserted daily, carrying off baggage and horses, of which they had started with 150. They then went to Kizil Arvat, crossed the Karakal Lake to Ohtach, and thence to Wakhan Serhod and Chitral. At the latter place they were relieved by the Indian Government with 3,000 rupees, when they had almost nothing left, and had been living for eight days on flour and mutton.

Red River Railway.—The proposed construction of a railway from Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba, towards the United States frontier, in order to connect it with their railway system, has brought on a grave constitutional conflict. The Dominion Parliament, whose sanction is required for such a project, has steadily vetoed it, and the State authorities are actually proceeding with the construction of the line notwithstanding. Very strong feeling has been aroused on both sides on the question, the object of the Dominion Parliament being to secure the monopoly of their own line, the Canadian Pacific, while the Manitoban farmers crave for cheaper transport for their wheat. While Winnipeg is 1,423 miles from Montreal by the Canadian Pacific Railway, which charges 16s. per quarter for the conveyance of wheat thither, Duluth, the great shipping port at the head of Lake Superior, is but 300 miles distant, and the carriage of wheat thence to Montreal is but 1s. 6d. per quarter. The rapid increase in the traffic of Duluth, which last year exported 18,000,000 bushels of wheat and 1,500,000 barrels of flour from the American portion of the Red River Valley, has stimulated the Manitobans in the desire to share in its advantages, and the farmers believe that even a small reduction in the cost of carriage would enable them to double the area of land under cultivation. Meanwhile all acts done in the construction of the proposed railway are illegal, bonds and paper issued in connection with it are valueless, and it has no standing in any court of law for the enforcement of contracts or other obligations. The immediate point on which issue is raised is the laying of the line through lands belonging to the Canadian Pacific Railway, which cannot be legally dispossessed by the State authority, and here an actual armed collision for a time seemed threatened.

Irrigation in Egypt.—This subject was treated in the Geo-

graphical Section of the British Association, in a paper read by Mr. Whitehouse on the Raiyan basin. This depression is situated to the north and west of the Fayoum, between lat. 28 and lat. 29° 30', its northern extremity being seventy-three miles south of Cairo. At previous meetings of the British Association, it has been shown how the author of this paper was led to believe that such a depression must exist, and how, at first alone, and subsequently accompanied by competent engineers, he made observations which verified his forecast. It was his opinion that foreign engineers, about the fifteenth century before our era, had conceived a gigantic scheme for the regulation of the flow of the Nile and the reclamation of the Delta, using a depression in the desert as a storage reservoir to avert the excessive rise of the river and provide for a season of drought. A report has been prepared by Major Western, R.E., General Director of Works, showing that a further supply of twenty-five million cubic mètres per diem for 100 days would meet all the requirements of Lower Egypt. This could be effected by filling the Raiyan basin at the time of high Nile, closing the canal of supply at the end of January, when the difference between the water in the reservoir and the river (about five mètres) would permit a sufficient flow back by the same canal. All objections, such as evaporation, leakage, deposit, infiltration, and impregnation were considered, and shown to be of no serious importance. It was estimated that less than £1,000,000 would suffice for the works, that the revenue would amount to about two millions sterling, and that the cost of maintenance would be inconsiderable. These researches, therefore, represented a capital value of, say, £50,000,000, and were believed to be unique. Other speakers affirmed the feasibility of the scheme, and declared the only obstacle to be the financial one.

Prospects of Trade in the Soudan.—At the same meeting Major Watson, late Governor of the Red Sea Littoral, read a paper with this heading. He related the history of the Soudan, which he described as a country of vast extent, of considerable fertility, and with a population of many millions, reduced to a miserable condition by the wars of the last four years. About 99 out of 100 people there were sick of war, they longed for peace, and would be delighted that trade should reopen, and that they should have a government. It was a mistake to suppose that the Soudanese were all savages. They were fine, intelligent men, many of them of considerable talent, and they were very easy to deal with. Perhaps the best way to open the trade with the Soudanese would be for a company to be formed to take charge of the coast on behalf of the Egyptian Government, which would hand over the customs and duties to the company. The English Government, who now paid for the garrison of Suakin, might contribute a fixed sum to the company, on the distinct understanding that they incurred no responsibility beyond keeping two or three gunboats to check the slave trade. It would be easy for the agents of the company to get into communication with the tribes along the coast, and if small posts were established at the different harbours trade would soon open.

The Red Sea Trade.—A paper on this subject, by Mr. A. B. Wylde, was read by Sir Charles Warren, President of the Geographical Section British Association. He pointed out the advantages of the Suakin-Berber route to the Soudan, and said that to open up the country steamers and machinery were required, and these could not be carried across the desert without a railway. At present, however, he did not advocate its construction, but said that the first thing was to restore trade, and when camels proved unequal to its requirements a railway would follow as a matter of course.

Settlement of Zululand.—A Blue-Book published on August 24, 1887, relates the final stages by which a settlement has been finally arrived at in the affairs of Zululand, and the agreement of October 22, 1886, between the Imperial Government and the invading Boers, carried into effect. The latter, partly by force, partly by consent of the Zulu chiefs, had annexed a large slice of the country under the name of the New Republic, and the object of the agreement was to limit them to a portion only of the territory occupied, and to define the exact limits of their sovereignty. Zululand, as then constituted, was divided into three sections—the New (Boer) Republic; the Reserve, under British protectorate; and Eastern Zululand, the territory of the natives, but containing farms on which some of the Boers were settled as squatters. The Zulus were much dissatisfied with the result, complaining, no doubt with truth, that they had been deprived of all the best land, but Mr. Osborn, the British Commissioner in charge of the negotiations, maintains that an ample area of good country remains to them. On two points their appeal has been attended with some effect: one was their request for the restoration of the burial-places of their kings at Makosini, which is now the subject of negotiation with the New Republic; the other their demand for the removal of the Boers from the outlying farms, which may be managed if the Zulus can find funds to compensate them.

It was soon found, however, that the Zulus could not continue to exist as an independent nation; "the most unfriendly relations," as Mr. Osborn euphemistically describes the raids of Boer commandos, existed between them and their neighbours; and the annexation of the whole country, with the exception of the New Republic, became a necessity. A proclamation, issued on May 4, 1887, accordingly declared it British territory, and Sir A. E. Havelock was appointed its Governor.

Notes on Nobels.

Diane de Breteuille: a Love Story. By HUBERT E. H. JERNINGHAM. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1887.

THERE is not much reading in "*Diane de Breteuille*," but it is a pleasant and affecting idyll, with just a touch of impossibility. Mr. Jerningham says it is a true tale. Whether it is or not, he has written it as if it were, and it is very charming and sparkling. There is not time or space to work out the characters—and the Marquises and Counts, with their wives, are shadowy, though cleverly indicated. But the young heroine is very substantial and real, and the hero, who is also the narrator, lets us realize his raptures (in respect of the heroine) with very sufficient fidelity. She is a young French girl of the present day, and he is an Englishman of the same period, who seems, however, to speak French uncommonly well. Perhaps he is an *attaché*. She is only seventeen, and she suddenly speaks to him at a pastrycook's—without an introduction or anything. In the act of speaking to him she so completely fascinates him, that he loses not only his heart, but also very nearly his head, and the narrative whirls on, through the usual obstructions, until they at last stand before the altar of Combes-la-Breteuille. There is a postscript—six years after. He kneels before a tomb in Dauphiné, where they have laid all that is left on earth of *Diane de Breteuille*. The story, which first appeared in the pages of *Blackwood*, has a purity and elevation about it which are not too common in these days of sensual description and fashionable atheism. The following extract is hardly a sample of the book, because there is no pretence that the story is religious, but it shows that it is not the opposite, and is itself pretty and natural:—

Involuntarily, though instinctively, I directed my steps to St. Thomas d'Aquin, near the Rue du Bac, and arrived in time to see an angel rise from her prayers at the high altar where she had heard mass, and asked the Almighty Himself to lay upon us both His merciful hands and bring us out of our trouble, and come and kneel at our Lady's altar to beg her gentle intercession in our behalf.

To see this graceful little thing kneel; to watch her pretty little hands cover her beautiful face; to note the lithesome figure bend in humble devotional attitude before the mother of the Most Holy, and offer her a child's simple prayer, that, provided it were the will of her Divine Son, she, who was never implored in vain, might bring to her relief her wonderfully powerful intercession, and obtain from Him the grace of allowing this great misery to pass away; to behold this inexpressibly touching spectacle, and to feel that the child in her simplicity, the girl in her beauty, and the woman in her calm, steady resolve, were mine and mine alone, produced so great an impression that I had to support myself against the nearest column lest I should faint. . . . She moved, and,

her head being raised, a ray of sun through one of the latticed windows came down upon her golden-brown hair, as if in answer to her prayer. It lit up that beautiful head with all the glory of its brightness, and as she made a sign to her governess by her side that it was time to go, I felt that her prayer had been answered (pp. 153-5).

Moy O'Brien : a Tale of Irish Life. By E. SKEFFINGTON THOMPSON. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. 1887.

THERE is much interest, and much food for reflection, in this story of Irish life. It must not be supposed that it is a mere political tract in the clothing of a novel. It contains much romance and some fun, and it presents a variety of lifelike sketches of character. But Irish politics are not exactly politics. In England, or in Scotland, or in the United States politics are a profession, and the unprofessional spectator, as he looks on, is amused or bored, as the case may be. But politics in Ireland are life and death. They mean the fate of the Irishman's country and of his religion, and therefore they have as rightful a place in an emotional story as the "League and Covenant" has in "Old Mortality." We like the young lady—Moy O'Brien—all the more for her patriotic pluck and her innocent Irish eloquence ; and we recommend every one to read how she refused one Irish landlord, whilst she made another a very happy man indeed. The story first appeared in the *Dublin Weekly Freeman* in 1878, and was reprinted in America by Harper Brothers

Miss Gascoigne. By MRS. J. H. RIDDELL. London : Ward & Downey. 1887.

MRS. RIDDELL has written a graceful and interesting tale, in one volume, on a rather unusual theme, the involuntary attachment of a mature woman to a man considerably her junior, towards whom she has been placed by circumstances in a position of guardianship. There is an antecedent improbability in the assumption that a maiden lady of only thirty-one would regard herself, or be regarded by the public, as sufficiently venerable to receive into her house and play the mother to a young man ten years younger. This initial difficulty once got over the rest of the story works itself out naturally and easily. The feelings of the woman whose youth had been crushed out by misfortune, in discovering that she has still, in what she considers middle-age, a heart fully alive and craving for happiness, are well realized, as well as the agony of shame and mortification which overcomes her at the sudden revelation of an attachment so unsuitable to her years. It proves, nevertheless, to be mutual ; but after a brief period of hesitation, during which she allows herself to be wooed by her young suitor, she resolutely refuses him, and cuts herself off from all communication with him. The announcement of his engagement to another at the end of a year is very nearly her death-blow, but she recovers to reward with the somewhat abrupt transfer of her affections

the older lover who had waited for her all his life. As the general strength and sweetness of Miss Gascoigne's character fully atone for the one pardonable weakness of her life, we are glad that a happier fate should be reserved for her than that of perennially pining for the boy-lover who has so soon forgotten her.

Allan Quartermain. H. RIDER HAGGARD. London :
Longmans & Co. 1887.

A GAIN we are led by Mr. Haggard into the heart of Africa, to pursue a series of marvellous adventures, in the company of the original trio with whom we started thither in quest of "King Solomon's Mines." The three white travellers, Captain Good, Sir Henry Curtis, and Allan Quartermain, the narrator, are accompanied by a French refugee called Alphonse, to whom the comic business of the story is entrusted, and by a Zulu warrior, Umslopogaas, who is the most successful character in it. There is a primitive grandeur about the old savage which redeems his ferocity, and his heroic end might entitle him to a place in the Norse Walhalla, among the most worthy followers of Odin. The idea of a comparatively civilized white race hidden away in the heart of Africa exercises a fascination over Mr. Haggard's mind, which he has the art of communicating to his readers, with the aid of the glamour surrounding all that belongs to that mysterious continent. The dangers of the voyage by which the land of promise is reached might suffice to deter the most ardent explorer, and are treated with the author's usual power of vivid realism. Romance and marvel culminate in the kingdom of Zuvendis, with its splendid capital, Milosis, its beautiful twin queens, Nyleptha and Sorais, and its architectural miracles, throwing into the shade all the structures of European civilization. Of course, a good deal of hard fighting intervenes before the strangers settle down peaceably among their new surroundings, and even the old Zulu warrior is satisfied with the amount of slaughter in which he is permitted to take part before he dies. Perhaps for the adult white reader who does not share Umslopogaas' proclivities there is a little too much of this element ; but to the boy public it will no doubt be as delightful as to the veteran savage.

Unlocked Hearts. By M. BYRON. London : Griffith, Farran & Co.
1886.

A SUCCESSION of serio-comic incidents are told in this prettily bound and printed volume, in a series of letters written by a young lady travelling on the Continent to her friend at home. Flirtations, marriages, broken hearts, and burlesque incidents of travel follow each other with somewhat inconsequent rapidity, and scenes and characters glide across the field of view with the grotesque realism of the slides of a magic-lantern. The letters are written with

a certain vivacity of style, and for those who like the airiest froth of the literary *soufflé* will furnish an hour's pleasant reading.

Sir Hector's Watch. By CHARLES GRANVILLE. London : John Murray. 1887.

THE unravelling of a mystery, and the consequences that flowed therefrom, are told in this clever novelette with a quiet skill which bespeaks the sure instinct of an artist. The story hinges on the tracking out of a watch and jewels stolen from a dead man years after the event, and the simplicity of the narrative matches perfectly with the slightness of the subject. All straining after effect or attempts to give exaggerated emphasis to the situation would have made it seem trivial, but the author, by pitching his scale of emotion low, succeeds in producing an effect within the limited range to which he has chosen to confine himself. If he be a novice, his self-restraint augurs well for his future, when he proceeds to develop on a larger canvas the skill shown in this little sketch in monochrome.

In Bad Hands. By F. W. ROBINSON. London : Hurst & Blackett. 1887.

THREE volumes of short stories are, perhaps, in the words of Mrs. Gamp, "one too many if not two," even when they are told in his usual racy fashion by the popular author of "Grandmother's Money." In the present series he shows the same intimate knowledge of the seamy side of life in the great centres of population, and the same sympathy with the poor and their struggles, as are displayed in his longer works. Here, too, he often takes us to the borderland where the line dividing crime from poverty is a vague and shifting one, and sometimes even oversteps the boundary, as in his sketch of the female prison and its inmates, and in his touching tale of the Portland convict and his daughter. There is, however, nothing morbid in his studies of these phases of society, for a wholesome moral lesson underlies the apparent jauntiness of his narrative, and a kindly human feeling brings out the redeeming touches in the lowest and most fallen natures. The tale which gives its name to the present publication is an instance of this. It tells the story of a little chorister, carefully reared and educated by a female relative, but subsequently compelled by a brutal criminal father to join a wandering troupe of minstrels in order to earn money by his voice. Loathing the life and its debasing surroundings, the boy is offered an opportunity for escape to his former friends, but his father being at that critical moment stricken down by illness, he prefers to remain with him and nurse him to the end, thus awakening some glimmering of better feelings even in the hardened mind of the ex-convict. His death solves the difficulty and sets his son free from bondage, and enables him to follow a successful and respectable career as a musician.

Madame's Granddaughter. By FRANCES MARY PEARD. London : Hatchards. 1887.

THE grace of Miss Peard's style gives an added charm to her pretty tale of life amid the olive groves and flower farms of Provence. Her heroine, Marcelle, the unwilling drudge of a miserly grandmother, grows up as a peasant in one of those decaying villas, with tower and terraces, which are sometimes seen degraded from their seigneurial state to serve as habitations for the cultivators of the soil. The dark sullen girl, whose youth has been gilded by no ray of love or gleam of pleasure, seems, when we first meet her, brooding over the stagnant solitude of her life, an unpromising subject for romance; yet there is no violation of probability in the way in which the heroic qualities latent in her strong self-contained nature are developed by the great purifiers, love and sorrow. The advent of a young cousin is the event which opens the gates of Marcelle's isolated existence to all the wider experiences of a new life, in which love and friendship play at cross-purposes, and leave a tangled skein of circumstances for conscience to unravel. The formidable *Madame* of the title-page is a strong and well-drawn character, ruling the events of her little world by the influence of her unbending will and shrewd power of forecasting probabilities. Her financial prescience, at once the awe and admiration of her neighbours, results in the inheritance of a large fortune by the heroine, when the sudden death of the miser leaves all her secret hoards and investments to the enjoyment of others.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Canon BELLESHEIM, of Aachen.

1. *Katholik*.

S. Methodius.—Two articles, one in the July, and the other in the August number of the *Katholik*, treat of the life and writings of one of the greatest fathers of the Eastern Church in the fourth century, S. Methodius, Bishop of Olympus in Lycia. There are not a few moot points regarding the country where he lived, and the authenticity of some of the best of the writings which are generally attributed to him. The writer of these articles is engaged on a complete study of the epoch and the works of S. Methodius, and he establishes by strong proofs the conclusion—which is opposed to what has been hitherto the common opinion—that the Saint never held the See of

Tyre, but was the Bishop of Olympus. He next treats of the writings of S. Methodius, which were mainly in defence of the Church's doctrine against the errors of Origen. Some of the sermons ascribed by many historians to S. Methodius are shown to be from other pens.

"Reformers before the Reformation."—Two articles treating on topics connected with the rise and development of the Reformation seem to be well worth special mention. "Magister Nicolaus Rutze," Professor in Rostock, Mecklenburg, is described as a predecessor of Luther. A native of Rostock, where he was born October 9, 1477, Rutze in course of time became a priest and master in philosophy. The writing in which he first broached his errors is called "Dat Bôkeken van deme Repe"—i.e., "The Book of the Rope;" his idea being that, as the shipwrecked man in imminent peril was saved by the rope dragging him from sea to shore, so the author throws a rope to the sinner that he may escape the power of the evil one. This remarkable treatise had become scarce in the course of time, which makes one more grateful for the reprint of it made in Rostock by Dr. Nerger in 1886. Rev. Lesker, the author of the article on Rutze, proceeds to lay down the Church's doctrine on the opinions held by Rutze. There are some unmistakable signs of a kindred system with Luther's, although Rutze is no Lutheran, in the proper sense of that word; for he solemnly opposed the most prominent of Luther's tenets. He, however, like the latter, wantonly attacked ecclesiastical authority. His writings are largely influenced by the doctrines of Huss, and this influence was due to the congregations held in Rostock by the Bohemian Brothers.

The other article, bearing on the history of the Reformation, is headed, "From Protestant Pulpits." To Professor Janssen, the most recent historian of the Reformation, we owe the remark that the Thirty Years' War was prepared for by a war of a hundred years waged in the pulpits. The author of the article has assiduously gathered from the old Protestant sermons published in the course of the sixteenth century the most striking passages treating on the Catholic religion and particularly on the Pope. Their leading theme is that the Pope is the very Antichrist of the Bible. It is our more fortunate lot to live at a time when educated Protestants scout this notion, once so dearly cherished and vehemently upheld as a bulwark truth of Protestantism.

Among other articles in the *Katholik* I may name specially one, treating of the mystical theology of S. Bonaventure, which is based chiefly on the great Franciscan's "Itinerarium," and another entitled "The Doctrine of the Cosmos, held by Cardinal Nicholas of Cues."

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

Oliver Cromwell.—The issue of July 16 contains a good review of a recent German work on Cromwell, which neither English nor Irish historians ought to pass over. "Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan Revolution," by Moritz Brosch (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1886), is the

work reviewed. It is chiefly founded on English State Papers. The author, who resided a considerable time in Venice, has also made use of the unpublished despatches preserved in the archives there of the Venetian ambassadors at London. These documents are an additional proof of the sagacity of the Venetian statesmen, who not only succeeded in maintaining good relations between the Republic and the great Courts of Europe, but also sent home such estimates of political parties as we look for in vain elsewhere in Europe. We may mention Aloysius Contarini, who, as early as 1627, was able to point out the wilful mind of the King, the rage of the people against Buckingham, and the indifference of the Government to the rights of the people. Although grasping money wherever he could get it, Charles I. was always in great straits, a striking illustration of which is handed down to us by Contarini. One day Queen Henrietta came to her husband's room and begged him for two pounds for a poor French woman. To the king's query as to who the poor woman was, the Queen blushing pointed to herself. The informations sent to Venice by the ambassadors Soranzo and Angelo Correr seem to be still more unfavourable to the Government of the day.

Fault has to be found with Herr Brosch's work on Cromwell, and that on two counts:—Neither King Charles I. nor Oliver Cromwell are estimated as they deserve. Brosch can see in the monarch only "une bête noire," whilst he surpasses even Carlyle in worshipping the Protector. Next, he is much to be blamed for the way in which he describes the beginnings of the Irish rebellion. It is on the untrustworthy work of Miss Hickson that he rests the opinion, fathering on Irish Catholics the foul project of murdering their fellow-countrymen in Ulster in 1641.

Ritualism.—An article with this heading treats of the beginning, progress, and present state of Ritualism, one of the most remarkable phenomena in the religious movement of our century. The author sets himself to show the gulf separating the old Tractarians, who piously venerated in the Bishops of the Establishment legitimate representatives of God's church, and the present Ritualists, who condemn alike the authority of the Pope and the laws of the Establishment.

3. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

Father Beissel writes on the wide-reaching influence of S. Francis of Assisi on general culture, both in the Middle Ages and in our own time. Fr. Christian Pesch contributes a solid article on "The Ethics of Buddha," clearly establishing the great difference between the morals of the Asiatic system which covers the most heinous vices, and the divine religion of Christianity bringing about a new creation. In a second article the same author traces the contrast between Christianity and Buddhism by comparing their results. Another article is occupied with "The Centenary of the *Historisch-politische Blätter*," which has reached in 1887 its hundredth volume. F. Baumgartner's articles on his journey in Scandinavia will be read

with pleasure. Lastly, we ought not to pass over Father Lehmkuhl's article on the Centenary of S. Alphonsus. An admirable biography of this great saint has been just issued by Father Dilgskron (Ratisbon: Pustet. Two vols.), based on extensive studies and unpublished manuscripts, which, besides giving the facts of the Saint's life, deserves special praise for a solid explanation of his doctrines on Probabilism, Grace, and Our Lady.

4. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.*

In the July number the chief interest centres on an article by Father Grisar on the excellent edition of the "*Liber Pontificalis*" by Professor Duchesne. The "*Liber*," hitherto attributed to "Anastasius Bibliothecarius," had its origin as far back as the sixth century, and may be attributed to an author who, in the pontificate of Symmachus (498-514) collected the old biographies of the Popes. Great importance is attached to accurately discriminating the three catalogues called after the Popes Liberius, Felix, and Conon. F. Flunk vindicates the theological ideas of the Hebrews on the immortality of the soul against the attacks of modern Protestant divines. F. Blötzer comments on the "Secret sin, according to the penitential discipline in the first centuries of the Church."

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica, 2 Aprile, 4 Giugno, 2 Luglio, 1887.

Earthquakes and their Causes.—Three interesting articles on this subject have appeared lately in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the first on April 2 of the current year, being occasioned by the earthquake of February 23, which affected all Northern Italy, more or less, with parts of Switzerland and of France, and is fresh in all our memories. Earthquakes offer one of the most difficult phenomena to the investigation of scientists, and no satisfactory theory as to their cause has as yet been put forth. The Reviewer thinks that meteorologists have too exclusively devoted their attention to the earth, attributing them entirely to internal processes going on within it. Geologists have, in fact, been very generally of opinion that the interior of our planet is still in a state of fusion, and that from this seething abyss of fire we are separated by a comparatively slight crust of solid earth. The writer gives cogent reasons for considering this hypothesis to be untenable. Ampère and Poisson never believed in it, and later geologists have even maintained that the earth is solid throughout, with the exception of certain spaces which must be held to exist in the neighbourhood of volcanoes, of which there are at present about 300, in more or less activity, on the face of our globe. But is the action at work in these regions the sole cause of earthquakes? and, notably, can it influence those which occur in places far removed from such action? The Reviewer adduces

instances in disproof of any such supposition, and quotes Lyell's opinion that the volcanic theory cannot be applied to explain the production of earthquakes. The cause of them, indeed, that eminent geologist thought, would ever remain a mystery to science.

In the second article, of June 4, the learned writer considers the phenomena preceding or following earthquakes; and, first, he disposes of the theory of those *savants* who have laid it down as a principle that every earthquake has a determined centre of action, the focus from which it proceeds, constituting a great earth-wave, strongest, of course, at its centre. The shock, no doubt, is always felt more strongly in one place or another; but this simple fact cannot be taken as a proof that the interior upheaving force was exerted exclusively in such place, or was more violent there than elsewhere. The amount of damage done has been found to result from many causes. One is the nature of the soil, and others are also given, the writer bringing some striking evidence in support of what he maintains. But he questions altogether the theory of a central shock, from which the vibration of the earth is propagated, growing faint as it recedes from the focus. Too many patent facts contradict this hypothesis. The simultaneity, moreover, or all but simultaneity, of shocks of earthquake in places too far removed from each other to render it conceivable that the vibration can have travelled from one to the other, seems to point to the probability that the shocks take place, not consecutively, but *directly* in these several localities. But again, when the shock is well-nigh everywhere simultaneous, it is difficult to understand how it can proceed from any action at work in the centre of the earth. Leaving aside those earthquakes which occur in volcanic regions, and turning our attention solely to the others, supposing also (what the writer is far from conceding), that the interior of our globe is filled by an ignited nucleus, how can a shock taking place there—and what may be the original cause of such shock is another subject for speculation—be communicated simultaneously to different regions of the earth's surface, having, in order to reach them respectively, to traverse strata of every variety of density and character, not to speak of subterranean waters which abound, rents, fissures, and cavities, making the transmission necessarily irregular? Moreover earthquakes are often preceded by noises and rumblings in the air, heard in elevated regions, while the shock itself which follows will frequently select lofty objects, such as steeples, for demolition. Vessels at sea will also be beaten about while the water is often as yet free from agitation. Numerous facts, in short, point clearly to some action external to the earth in the production of earthquakes; and in his third article, of July 2, the writer draws attention to many such facts of a curious and otherwise inexplicable nature; such as the extraordinary perturbation among the animal creation previous to the slightest movement of the earth, birds on the wing, and therefore not touching the ground, betraying their agitation and distress in many ways. We believe that all these phenomena, and many others of a kindred nature, are to be referred

to an extraordinary electrical tension in the atmosphere, of which animals are more sensitive than human creatures, although instances are not wanting of similar nervous affections in many individuals. The whole article, in which is given a striking array of facts, confirmatory of the theory propounded, will be found interesting to the general as well as the scientific reader.

Since the above was written a fourth article has appeared in the number for August 6, in which the Reviewer enters upon an explanation of the theory which he holds as to the cause of earthquakes—viz., the reciprocal states of atmospheric and telluric electricity, and replies to objections which may be raised; but of this article we must postpone any notice to a future occasion.

16 *Luglio*, 1887.

Garcia Moreno.—In the number for July 16 the *Civiltà Cattolica* notices most favourably a Life of Garcia Moreno, President of Ecuador, Vindicator and Martyr of the Christian Law, by the Redemptorist Father, A. Berthe. Every one will remember that extraordinary man, whom God was pleased to manifest to the world that nations tyrannized over by the Revolution might behold in him a sublime type of a Catholic ruler, and the beneficial effects of a Catholic policy. No book could be more opportune. It is now twelve years since this Christian hero fell beneath the dagger of the assassin. The Masonic sects, which planned and executed the deed, made no secret of their diabolical object—the ruin of the good which they hated. “The day on which the President shall fall”—these words, the Reviewer tells us, are a literal quotation—“his successor must destroy all that he has done: pious works, trafficable roads, colleges, museums; in all Ecuador no vestige must remain of any Catholic work.” And so far as they were able these wretches kept their word. To know fully the value of what Garcia Moreno effected, it would be necessary to become acquainted with the miserable state into which Ecuador, as well as its sister Republics of Columbia and Peru, emancipated by Bolivar from the Spanish yoke, had fallen. All had become a prey to internal sanguinary dissensions, trodden down, pillaged, and morally degraded for half a century by the men of the Revolution, who contended with each other for rule in order to satisfy their own personal cupidity and ambition. Of this the author gives an introductory sketch. The Life itself is divided into three parts. The future regenerator was sprung from a good family, reduced to extreme poverty by the troubles of the times. He received the instruction and impressions of his childhood from a good religious of the Order of Mercy, whose lessons were never effaced from his mind. Through the same Father's good offices Garcia was enabled to become a student at Quito at the age of fifteen, where he at once displayed his ardour for knowledge and his almost universal capacity for science in every form. Along with these striking abilities, his innate talent for government re-

vealed itself. Young as he was, he was appointed superintendent of the scholars at their studies, and by the gravity of his behaviour, the vigilance of his eye, and his inexorable severity towards the guilty, he had speedily reduced them all to order and discipline, and at the same time won their respect and love. His memory was something prodigious. He could make the roll-call of the 300 students by name without a list, and, moreover, knew how many good and bad marks each had deserved. Garcia Moreno was in short a most highly-gifted as well as a great man, in the highest sense of the word, and a devoted Catholic. A striking anecdote is related of his courage and fortitude. He had perfected nature in this respect by practices truly surprising. One day, as he was sauntering along engaged in reading, he took refuge from the burning sun under a large projecting rock, but having perceived that it was attached to the cliff by a mere crumbling strip of ground ready to give way at the slightest shock, natural fear impelled him hastily to leave its shelter. But scarcely had he done so when shame urged him to resume his perilous position for above an hour, and he even went to sit there on successive days until he had entirely subdued his natural fear to the dominion of his will. Such a man was not likely to allow himself to be scared from the path of duty. Having become, when entering on active life, obnoxious by his pen to the Revolutionary leaders, he had to escape to Europe, where he spent three years perfecting his studies at the University of Paris.

The second and third parts of F. Berthe's work contain the account of Garcia Moreno's rise to power after his return to Ecuador, a drama of surpassing interest, and of his two periods of Presidentship. It would be impossible in a short notice to give the faintest idea of what was accomplished by this hero for the regeneration of his country, of whom it may be truly said that our century has not seen his like. All had to be created, and one of the first aims of this champion of Christian policy was to raise his people from the degradation of ignorance, and at the same time to furnish to choice intellects the means of mounting to the highest grades of science. For Garcia Moreno always aimed high. The people of Ecuador were to be the best instructed in South America, and Quito to be his Athens. Before his accession to power there were not 8,000 pupils in the elementary schools; at his death there were 32,000. These were chiefly entrusted to the Christian Brothers, whom, regardless of expense, he brought over from France, while to the Jesuits he confided the higher literary studies. He dissolved the old University of Quito, saturated with revolutionary ideas, and founded on its ruins a truly Catholic and progressive University. For every department of education he established schools—mechanics, agriculture, arts, medicine, chemistry, astronomy—and in a very few years each was provided with its suitable apparatus. When a commissioner once remarked that an order of his would cost 100,000 francs, he said: "Buy what is best and handsomest; take no other thought." His charity was unbounded; the encouragement of all pious institutes and the reform of the whole penal system had his assiduous and personal

attention. By the inmates of the prisons he was indeed adored, and how great was the moral improvement he effected may be judged from the fact that when, after seven years' labour, a large and commodious substitute had been constructed for the unhealthy places of detention in Quito, there were not found above fifty criminals to put into it. We must be satisfied with alluding to one other great work of his—the construction of roads in a hitherto trackless and almost impassable country. And where did he find the money? No other answer can be given, save that he had taken as the rule of his actions the command of the God-Man: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you;" and so far from having drained the exchequer, he all but paid off the heavy national debt of borrowed money with which Bolivar had left the Republic chargeable, and to which subsequent bad governments had, by leaving the interest unpaid, added an ever-increasing annual deficit, which also was rapidly in process of extinction, so that Garcia Moreno was able, in a message to Congress in the year 1875, not long before his days were cut short by the dagger of the assassin, to make this consoling communication. Yet he had alleviated taxation, and had added a third to the salaries of ill-paid *employés*. Little as we have been able to say, we trust we may have helped to draw attention to a publication peculiarly valuable in our days, as pointing out the true and only remedy for our ills. We have reason to believe that a translation into English of this remarkable biography will speedily be undertaken by a pen well qualified for the task.

Notices of Books.

Vie de Saint Hugues, Abbé de Cluny (1024–1109). Par Le R. P. Dom A. L'HUILLIER, Moine Bénédictin de Solesmes. Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre. 1880.

THE Benedictines of Solesmes send us a new and complete Life of St. Hugh of Cluny, by a member of their own community. This work, which is a large octavo of nearly 700 pp., is founded on original investigations, is written and edited with great skill and care, and is admirably printed by the community's own press. It is enriched with three beautiful chromo-lithographs, reproducing in fac-simile thirteenth-century illuminations, and with numerous woodcuts.

Dom l'Huillier, to whom we owe the book, has been fortunate enough to find a MS. of the Latin Life by the monk Gilo, the very first Life of St. Hugh, written by one of his own monks in his own monastery, not more than six years after his death. Mabillon had seen it (in the library of St. Germain-des-Prés), but the Bollandists seem to have worked without consulting it, relying on the

biography by Hildebert of Tours, which is indeed little more than a reproduction in better style of Gilo. Dom l'Huillier has very properly reprinted this interesting document word for word, and it is now published for the first time. It does not shed much new light upon the career of St. Hugh, but it gives a number of bits of graphic detail, very precious to a biographer, and of these the Solesmes Benedictine has availed himself with considerable effect. The Cluniac monk is a pompous and turgid writer, but he is by no means without spirit and literary force. There is, as we need not say, much more in the book than the mere reproduction of this relatively short biography. Materials have been accumulating for many years past, thanks to the labours of French and German scholars, which imperatively demanded to be thoroughly digested and incorporated into a new history of the great abbot of the eleventh century. Among other works we may mention "*Cluny au onzième siècle*," by the Abbé Cucherat, so recently taken away from us; and "*Forschungen zur Geschichte des Abtes Hugo I. von Cluny*," by Lehman. But indeed the usual sources—the Bollandists, the *Acta Sanctorum* O.S.B., *Gallia Christiana*, Pignot's History of Cluny, and the several Cluniac publications, such as the "*Ordo*" and the "*Consuetudines*"—themselves offered to the zealous collator admirable opportunities for a striking monograph. Using all these, and supplementing them with innumerable illustrations and much curious information drawn not only from books, essays, and journals, but also from MS. materials, Dom l'Huillier has presented the reader with an entirely original and most interesting historical biography. It is chiefly and before all things the life of a saint. The historian of St. Hugh has not the advantage of knowing him by his writings, for St. Hugh has written very little indeed. Neither had the Saint's memory the good fortune to be preserved by a master of narration, such as that Eadmer who wrote of Anselm. The portrait of the man has come down to us, therefore, somewhat dim and faded. But what there is, Dom l'Huillier places skilfully before us. St. Hugh's monastic life at Cluny can be reproduced with great accuracy. We can follow him in his magnificent government and conduct of the great abbey, in his intercourse with his community, and in their building operations which resulted in the erection of a church which was well-nigh the largest in the world until St. Peter's was built. The influence of an abbey of the eleventh century in the surrounding populations is strikingly described. Moreover, Cluny in the lifetime of St. Hugh was in the fore-front of European history. The Emperor Henry III. importuned St. Hugh till he went and visited him at Cologne. William the Conqueror was admitted as a "*confrater*" of the abbey. Hildebrand himself was for months a resident within its cloister, and kept up till his death most intimate relations with St. Hugh. Pope Urban II. had been Abbot Hugh's own prior, and came back as Sovereign Pontiff to consecrate the high altar of the new church. The holy abbot was constantly fulfilling legatine charges and promoting the cause of the Church in her war against simony, and her struggle against investiture; and it was Cluniac monks who accom-

panied the first crusade as chaplains, and founded a monastery in the Holy Land. This volume is a veritable panorama of the early mediæval Church—of the wars of Burgundy, princes good and bad, great crimes and marvellous vocations, continual Church Councils, the wickedness of Henry IV., the supernatural strength of Gregory VII., the firmness of St. Peter Damian, chivalry and serfdom, the Church and the barons, the Church and the Empire. In the cloister of Cluny the great events of the age were known promptly, and doubtless discussed shrewdly. This is what the monk Gilo writes of the death of William Rufus, about fourteen years after the tragedy in the New Forest: "*Rex bellicosus et ferox, tanti regis filius, Willelmus Rex, secundâ die mensis Augusti dum per saltus fugaces cervos sagittare gestiret, sagittam subito in cor suscepit, qua miles suus cervum impetebat.*" And in that very year Anselm of Canterbury was the guest of St. Hugh, and the Abbot in his presence had foretold the King's sudden death.

The great character of the Cluniac revival, from the times of St. Odo himself, is the establishment of congregational monastic government in the place of single independent monasteries. Wherever Cluny planted a filiation the daughter remained subject to the mother, and the great Cluniac obedience was all directed from the parent home itself. Cluny is also associated with a monastic revival so splendid and so successful, that from its early years a kind of reaction took place in the minds of the stricter Benedictines, and Cîteaux was begun as a protest against Cluny. In this book we see the typical Cluniac Abbot. Of all the saints who ruled that celebrated home, he seems to be the one who did most to set Cluny in the place which history has recognized. He took the monastic habit when he was only fourteen; he was grand Prior at twenty; at twenty-seven he was Abbot; and he governed the great monastery for nigh upon fifty years.

To us in England St. Hugh should be especially dear, for it was he who sent the first Cluniac monks to our shores. The first foundation seems to have been St. Pancras at Lewes; but many more took place in his lifetime. The glorious ruins which still remain bear witness how widely the congregation spread and how nobly it flourished in this island. This complete and admirable monograph—a specimen at once of solid learning, of patient research, of winning style, and of excellent material workmanship—should be warmly welcomed, even outside of that monastic Order which claims both St. Hugh and his biographer.

Life of Leo XIII. From an Authentic Memoir by BERNARD O'REILLY, D.D., L.D. (Laval). London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co.

THIS book has long been expected both by the Catholic and general public. The exalted character of its subject, the special biographical aids and channels of inspiration placed at the command of its author, and his own literary experience, led the reading world

to expect in this *Life of Leo XIII.* a remarkable addition to the few great biographies in our language. In some sense the public has not been disappointed. The *Life* is very complete; too much so, we should say, in the sense of purely literary completeness. It is animated in style, enthusiastic, almost worshipful, of its great subject; and the author has been industrious to a fault in seeking far and near, and wresting to his service every kind of fact or fancy that has had any connection with the history of the life and character of our great Pontiff. The material book is a fine drawing-room table volume of nearly 600 pages large octavo. Some of the illustrations are excellent; notably those in the early part of the volume, representing views of Carpineto and Perugia. The Roman illustrations are commonplace in selection and poor in execution, except that perhaps of the Vatican Palace, taken from a new point of view. Yet, as a whole, it is a stately and imposing volume, printed and bound in good style, and with the best materials. By the honest critic this is nearly all that can be said in the book's favour. We confess, however, to a great difficulty in dealing with it. It is presented to us with such an array of authority and commendation on its front that our approval is in a sense pre-empted. We are forewarned, as it were, to approach it in a reverential rather than in a judicial spirit. Its title-page would give us to understand that it is the development of an "authentic memoir." But we are ever at a loss to determine what in it is really "authentic," and what adjunctive and interpretative, as the work stands. There is no line drawn, that we can distinguish, between the sentiments of the rev. author himself and those of the exalted personage whose life he relates. This it is, for one thing, that makes a reviewer's task difficult. If the "authentic memoir" were a complete and consecutive production, then we think it should have been separated in some manner from the body of the work; the more so, as such a *Life* from such a hand ("authentic memoir" being interpreted as one of Leo XIII. by himself) could not fail to attract the respectful interest of readers throughout the world. Then also the dual authorship could receive our independent attention. Or if the "memoir" was not a continuous manuscript, but a series of notes, memoranda, or directions placed in the rev. author's hands, then it was not really a "memoir," and the statement on the title-page is scarcely correct. Yet even such authentic *notes* should have been placed by themselves, and not interspersed and voluminously paraphrased in the text, as they seem to be. Occasionally, indeed, we have the words of the "memoir" given casually in the text, but this does not occur after about the 300th page. From that to the end of the book all that is produced or referred to of Leo XIII.'s is taken from his public acts and writings as Archbishop of Perugia, or Supreme Pontiff. But the personal notes, where they are given us, are of a nature to make us wish for more of the original and less of the evolutionary in this wordy volume. Moreover, another hand than that of his Holiness, one bolder in declaring his wisdom and virtues than his own would be, is visible in many passages that are quoted as from his personal memoir.

Altogether, it is quite impossible for the reader to form a judgment upon the character or extent of the authentic "memoir," or to perceive its influence on the biographer's treatment.

Viewed as a history the book deals far too much with the historically unknowable. It has more to say of the feelings and emotions of its personages than would be allowable in a psychological romance. Examples of this extravagance occur wherever a new stage of the Pontiff's career is introduced. The book is filled with specimens of such vicarious introspection. The description of Monsignor Pecci's ordination (pt. i. p. 83 *seq.*) is a case in point. Several pages are given to disclosing the feelings, not only of the chief personage, but of nearly all present at the ceremony. The same may be said of the laboured effort to depict the tenderness existing between the young Pecci and his admirable mother. Are these records of sacredly intimate emotions preserved in the "authentic memoir"? If they are, they merit our deepest interest and sympathy. They then belong to the highest order of history. They are the self-revealings of a nobly inspired soul. But these feelings should be uttered to us in the very language of that soul. They should be given to the world fresh from the heart that conceived them. To us the frequent reflections of the author upon the inward experiences of his chief personage seem like an intrusion into a sanctuary. In fact, a great part of this work is not biography, or anything like it. The subject of it is not kept before our eyes, and much less is he made familiar to our understandings. We are not permitted to see or understand him, except under the impulse of the author. His impulses are many and various. Almost every mention of a new name, as well as introduction of a new scene in his story, leads him off into biographical, economical, and artistic discussions, that have no real place in his narrative. They serve no purpose except to increase the material volume of his work. As regards the style of the work, we pronounce it decidedly "journalistic." It does not follow that it is not a good style, but it does follow that it is not, as a life of a great Pope, in good taste. It has none of the simple strength and dignity that becomes its subject. There is no remarkable passage in the work, no bit of description or portrait of character that strikes the attention, or merits a place in the memory.

Another trait of the work that shows little taste or tact is the constant effort the author makes to compel our admiration of the person of the Pontiff. This is quite unnecessary. The work is too much a panegyric; and Wisdom's wholesome rule that should apply to all sorts and conditions of men, "*Ne laudes hominem in vita sua*," is repeatedly and grossly violated. The simple details of such a career as that of Leo XIII. might, in most instances, have well been left to produce their own effect on any intelligent reader. All this may seem severe as a criticism of an otherwise valuable and conscientious work. Had we fixed our view upon its excellences, as a repertory of the facts of a great life, we might well have appeared to exceed in another direction. No doubt, Dr. O'Reilly's work will take a high place as a reference and authority upon the varied events

in the career of our beloved Pontiff. This is, in the main, what the author aimed at, and this object he has certainly attained by no common effort of industry and devotion.

Life of Leo XIII. Edited by JOHN OLDCASTLE. London :
Burns & Oates.

MR. OLDCASTLE modestly disclaims all intention of presenting us "with anything like a history of a Pontificate," and only tries "to pourtray the man," in this *Life of Leo XIII.* Yet he succeeds as admirably in doing what he professes to avoid as in effecting what he promises to accomplish. There is little noteworthy in the life of the Pontiff that is not here recorded, and the bearing of this *Life* upon the public events of our times is made quite prominent in a few strong yet discreet strokes from the skilful pen of this author.

The public life of Leo XIII. is indeed a marvel of fixity of plan and purpose with rare flexibility of method. It gives us an idea of the perfection which the absolute in government might attain if joined to loftiness of conception and limitless freedom of administration. The *schema* of social rule and order developed in the thought and manifested in every public utterance and act of Leo XIII. is simply complete. It is so comprehensive and practical that freedom only is wanted to carry it through to its results, to render his spiritual rule and his political influence the sum of what is best and most needed in actual human government. Never, perhaps, has any ruler, or any expounder of the art of ruling, dealt so much with the principles and conditions of good government. Yet none has descended more easily to minute and timely considerations of practical polity. Referring all rule constantly to its true measure of right and justice, he directs it as constantly to the veriest details of its true object, the welfare of the community. His plan of Christian Government has been evidently a long-considered one. Had it been revealed to him from his youth that his office in mature age should be that of proclaiming from the highest place on earth the rule of social right, and of striving for its accomplishment, he could not have devoted all his years to that one study more earnestly and intelligently than he has done. This is what makes the life of Leo XIII. in some sense an easy task for the biographer. Its lines are clear and close, though deep and far-reaching. Its circumstances of outward constraint leave no room for the daily vicissitudes that usually accompany the condition of a ruler, and to the unwary chronicler seem to make up its history. He is placed, a seemingly motionless but supremely vigilant centre figure, in a strong and far-stretched web of religious and social interests and issues. Apparently imprisoned in the system that surrounds him, he commands all its lines, communicates with all its ends, and rules the whole by the fascination of his word and the evolution of his inward resources. This, or something like it, is the idea the world has unconsciously been

forming of the figure and functions of Leo XIII. In some such light also he is graphically sketched for us by Mr. Oldcastle in the brief biography now before the public. Sharp, shapely, and elegant, the book is a cameo portrait. The setting it receives from the added chapters by H. E. Cardinal Manning, Mr. Allies and Fr. Anderdon, serves indeed to complete its grace and truthfulness. But this setting lends nothing of itself, to the pure content with which we fix our eye on the central feature of this well-wrought miniature. There seems to be nothing omitted that it were well to know in this little Life. We have taken it up, for the second time, with a feeling of infinite relief, after having struggled through the slow length of Dr. O'Reilly's more ambitious tome. There is one remarkable difference between the two books—a difference that tells strongly in favour of the smaller one. We shall note it by quoting Mr. Oldcastle's words, in his first chapter, as to his treatment of the life of the Pontiff. The words are all the more pointed because never intended to mark the characteristic contrast between these two biographies. Nothing could be more complete and appropriate as a rule of criticism for both :

If in the following pages there is no record of the Pope of rumour and romance, so also another absence may be noted—the absence of those adjectives which not uncommonly overlay and clog the biographies of Pontiffs written by contemporaries. Declamatory praise has been here eschewed as a literary superfluity, and therefore a double impertinence—in this case—to the subject no less than to the reader. We are willing to allow even encyclicals of Pope Leo to *speak for themselves* without protesting that they are magnificent.

This is precisely what every reader expects, and has a right to be treated to, by every biographer, whether of Pontiff or other potentate. The adulation so often lavished on his subject by the tactless biographer, however sincere on his part, however due to the merits of his personage, tends always to defeat its object. It arouses a spirit of resentment and “contrariness” in the reader, who plainly perceives that the writer is forcing himself—his own judgment—on the reading public, rather than commending his subject to the exercise of a free and favourable public opinion.

Marriage. By the Rev. CHARLES H. WOOD. Manchester : J. Roberts & Son ; London : Burns & Oates. 1887.

IT was a happy thought to procure from Father Wood the publication and development of his treatment of the marriage question discussed at the Salford Ecclesiastical Conference. No more useful manual of suggestion and guidance for clergy and laity, on this vital subject, has ever been given us in our language. Catholic society in this land stands, perhaps, in more peril from the sources exposed and provided against in this work, than all other evil influences combined. Associations of any kind or degree with whatever is not Catholic—the mere fact of living in social community with non-

Catholics—is as dangerous as it is unavoidable to the faithful of this country. Association through the bond of marriage is simply fatal in nearly every case and every district.

What is not Catholic in regard to the marriage contract is properly classified by the author under the heads of "Mixed Marriages" and "Irreligious" (unholy) "Marriages." The first introduces a positive, the second a negative, but almost equally fatal, element of destruction into Catholic society. Mixed marriages place it in direct and intimate contact with heresy and heretical influences. Unholy, sacrilegious marriages, though contracted by professing Catholics, bring with them no benison, no grace of state, and are ruinous to the moral and social purity and integrity of the Christian family. So multiplied have become those unhappy unions that they form in many dioceses the very gravest of all the causes of the neglect and decay of religion. There is something painfully pathetic in the appeal of the Bishop of Salford quoted towards the end of this book :

Thousands of little orphans, of wasters, of children abandoned to Satan, snatched up by the enemies of their faith and exposed to eternal ruin, stretch out their tiny arms to you for protection and rescue. (P. 356.)

There is no doubt a strong feeling existing in the hearts of our bishops and missionary priests against the celebration of mixed marriages anywhere or under any conditions. Some maintain that the Church would be an absolute gainer by withdrawing all dispensations in the matter. On the other hand, there are zealous and experienced priests in certain dioceses who tell us that in them Catholicity increases through the medium of such alliances. These are dioceses, or places in dioceses, where there is a large and devout Catholic population. The writer has heard a defence of such unions from a priest of Liverpool very lately. He himself knows of another diocese, out of England, where whole districts have been converted by the intermarriages of Protestants with Catholics. He knows of a parish of about 3000 souls where fifty years ago there were but few Catholics, and now there are but four Protestant families. This change was not brought about by teaching or preaching. There never was a mission given in the place. The priest in charge for all those years was an excellent, energetic, self-sacrificing man, yet no preacher except by his good example. These people married Catholic women from the adjacent large Catholic town, and they believed and practised Catholicity without more ado.

Facts like these seem to prevent any energetic, general, and concerted effort to put a stop to the celebration of mixed marriages. Yet even those facts, taken as evidence of the accidental good results upon religion of such marriages in certain places and under certain circumstances, only serve to emphasize their evil fruits in places where a converse state of things exists. The influences that, growing out of the marriage tie, tend to convert the Protestant to the religion of the Catholic party, are those *natural influences* which serve under Providence as aids and vehicles to grace. They are the very

same that, acting from the same source but under opposite conditions, lead to the loss of faith of so many Catholics from mixed marriages. The Protestant easily becomes Catholic when absorbed as it were into the Catholic society and surroundings of his or her Catholic partner. The Catholic party—*à fortiori* we might say—introduced into the usually more attractive social connections of Protestantism, readily yields to its fascination and follows the current into which his or her life has been drawn. Consequently the arguments which show that mixed marriages in some districts tend to the numerical increase of Catholicity, prove also that they tend to its effacement in others where the Protestant element and Protestant tone predominate. Human nature is the same in Catholic and Protestant, and it is spiritually as well as socially gregarious. The obvious general conclusion would be that mixed marriages should be abolished in Protestant countries and localities, and more easily permitted when Catholic numbers and influences preponderate. Of their own nature, however, mixed marriages are an unmixed evil.

The whole ground of this discussion is surveyed in the able treatise before us. The conclusion arrived at by the rev. author of "Marriage" on this point is quite a different and no doubt a better one. He emphasizes, as do all the Pontifical decrees on the subject, the fact that mixed marriages are in themselves an evil. Consequently they ought not to be tolerated, much less approved of, as a means to the desirable end of increasing the number of the faithful. Instead, therefore, of regarding the predominance of Catholics in numbers and spirit in a particular district as a motive of easy toleration of mixed marriages, the contrary should be the case. The principle to be clearly held in view is that these marriages are tolerated as a baneful necessity in our social system, because we are not independent enough to abolish them altogether. We are not so independent because we are, in general, in a minority—a small fraction amid an immense Protestant total. Were these conditions changed, mixed marriages would not possess the deplorable *raison d'être* now claimed for them. Hence, wherever there is a Catholic majority, wherever Catholicity works and prospers on its own proper and natural lines, there especially the Church's condemnation of mixed marriages should be carried out to the letter:

Were the Catholics of England (says Fr. Wood) in greater numbers; did they form any fair proportion of the people of the country; were circumstances favourable to the formation of a sound public opinion which could reasonably be expected to exercise an adverse influence upon the practice of mixed marriages, then the total and rapid cessation of these marriages would follow as the consequence of altered conditions, and especially in the absence of any further necessity for their celebration. (P. 73.)

The special license given to the English Bishops by the encyclical of Pius IX., 1858, and quoted at p. 408, would no longer have any force.

The writer is equally clear, outspoken, and earnest in all his comments on the other great evil of unholy marriages, where both parties

are Catholics. Such are marriages contracted before a minister or civil officer, or without Christian and Catholic dispositions and preparation. Here enters the vast array of immoral tendencies and practices, of religious indifference and social indelicacy among young Catholic men and women, that constitute the life-long cross of the missionary priest and pastor. These formed the point of the Conference case that resulted in this book. Their discussion and the suggestion of their remedies occupy the whole of the second part of the work. We will content ourselves with saying that nothing more wise in point of direction, or more useful for practice, has yet been placed in the hands of the Catholic pastor. There is nothing new in the matter of the work. This is what constitutes its practical excellence. What is needed is not novelty and unreality of matter or of treatment of such subjects, but their clear and orderly statement—a firm yet compassionate probing of the sores, and a prompt application of the remedies at hand. This we have in Fr. Wood's book. There is nothing loose, nothing weakly experimental in it from first to last. It is common-sense and common experience, based on sound principles and grave authorities, that he furnishes in clear style and good language to his readers. This book will be in the English priest's special cabinet of standard and reference works for discussion and practice upon the important question of marriage.

Theodore Wibaux, Pontifical Zouave and Jesuit. By the Rev. C. DU COETLOSQUET, S.J. With an Introduction by the Rev. F. R. CLARKE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

THIS interesting and edifying life of a young Frenchman of Roubaix, who joined the Papal Zouaves at their enrolment in 1866, and remained with the corps till it was dissolved in 1871, is well written by a Father of the Society of Jesus, and well translated by some one who is anonymous. The character of Theodore Wibaux, who joined the Jesuits, and died at their house in Jersey before his ordination, was simple, loving, and manly, and his numerous letters to his family furnish a picture of a brave young man with good instincts and intense family affection. We follow him from his home at Roubaix, with its Flemish air of plenty and of good humour, to his soldier's work in Rome during the eventful years which intervened between the betrayal of Pius IX. by Louis Napoleon and the attack on the Porta Pia. We see him drilling in the Piazza of St. Peter's, mounting guard, hunting brigands (without much success), and fighting the Garibaldians. We accompany him through the glorious day of Montana, and assist at the final departure of the French Zouaves from Italian soil in the *Orinoco*, in September 1870. But Wibaux's military life did not end here. The six hundred French Zouaves, under the name of the Volunteers of the West, went through that campaign which is marked by the names of Patay, Poitiers, Le Mans, Coulmiers, and the Loire. Theodore Wibaux went through it all with his comrades,

and it was only when, at the request of De Charette himself, the regiment was disbanded by the French Government, that he ceased to be a Zouave. In the same year he joined the Jesuit novitiate at St. Acheul. After some few years spent in teaching at Boulogne and Amiens he was sent to the scholasticate in Jersey, where he died of inflammation of the bowels at the early age of thirty-three. His biography, without being startling or heroic, is a good lesson in human life and Christian virtue for boys and young men. The Rev. Father Clarke's Introduction points out the likenesses and the differences between the soldier and the Jesuit. It is a little difficult to see whether he thinks or does not think that the spirit of the Society is a military spirit. He has paragraphs on either side; and indeed he might have had as many more, for a conceit of this kind can be as easily written up as written against.

The Jewels of the Mass. By PERCY FITZGERALD. London : Burns & Oates.

THIS successful attempt, by a practised literary man, to describe and explain the rites and prayers used in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass will be found to supply a want. Brief—that is, not running to more than ninety pages—handsomely got up, well printed on good paper, and uncut, this handy volume presents us with an exposition of the Mass which, without being trivial, is popular, and which is orthodox and generally correct without being technical or abstruse. The absence of references somewhat detracts from its value as an original work, but its pleasant and skilled literary style will make it acceptable to all classes of readers.

What Catholics have done for Science. By the Rev. MARTIN S. BRENNAN, A.M. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1887.

MR. Brennan has written a handy book of reference. It is the kind of work we have long desiderated in our Sunday-schools. Boys of the fourth and fifth standards, accustomed to have every subject mapped and spaced out for them, will not be tempted to pronounce the author's divisions formal. The style is sober in ornament, and relieved of even the shadow of rhetorical millinery; minds the least capable of concentrating themselves upon a long-winded production need not be deterred from attempting to read the accounts of Catholic scientists scattered over these pages, for the tales have the same quality which the Scotchman found in Webster's unabridged Dictionary—"they are uncommon short." Older heads who may desire something more solid, and recast in a more modern mould, may be glad to know that all that is really valuable in this compilation may be gathered from two lectures of Fr. Zahm, of the University of Notre Dame, published in the "Ave Maria Series."

Frederick Francis Xavier Mérode, Minister and Almoner to Pius IX.
By MGR. BESSON, Bishop of Nîmes. Translated by Lady HERBERT. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1887.

In 1839 the most distinguished Catholic nobleman in Belgium, Count Félix de Mérode, called at the Nunciature of Brussels to ask the advice of the new Nuncio, a young prelate just starting in his diplomatic career, concerning the destination to a military life of his son Frederick. The Nuncio warmly supported the proposal. "You belong," he said "to the great nobility of the country. Your name is associated with the whole military history of Flanders and the Low Countries. Allow your son to follow his natural inclination for the army. Who knows if he will not, like his ancestors, attain to the highest military honours? He is pious and chaste. God will keep him; and his virtues will only be strengthened by trials." The person concerning whom these words were uttered was the future Monseigneur de Mérode; the speaker was no other than Monseigneur Pecci, now our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., happily reigning. The words themselves were prophetic, though perhaps not in the sense of the speaker at the time. There can be little doubt that much, if not the chief part, of the subsequent character and activity of the generous and gallant Papal Minister was owing to the few years of military service which forms so bright an opening chapter in Frederick de Mérode's career, and strangely enough, though he never reached more than subaltern rank, still, inasmuch as he eventually became Minister of War, he may justly be said to have attained the highest military honours possible.

The whole career of Mgr. Mérode is one of singular interest and attractiveness. The peculiarly chivalrous nature of his disposition, so well befitting a scion of the Crusaders and a son of the national heroes of 1830, is brought out strongly, not merely during his soldier's life in Belgium and with the French in Algeria, but through the whole of his ecclesiastical career. And the singularly touching little episode which occurred to him as a sub-lieutenant at Liège, is an actual case of "Bootle's Baby" in real life. How perfectly in keeping with the unhesitating generosity of years later, when Mgr. de Mérode—then Papal Minister of War—visiting the Cholera Hospital in Rome, and finding one poor man without flannels, immediately stepped behind a curtain, stripped himself of his own flannels, and made the sufferer put them on at once.

We do not intend here to give any kind of a *résumé* of the life of Frederick de Mérode, or to extract any of the very interesting passages and episodes which have struck us in perusal. We prefer to recommend this singularly interesting and attractive biography to English readers. To the student of contemporary history it will afford considerable side-lights on the stirring events of 1848 to 1870. The discreditable policy of Napoleon III., the character and position of Montalembert, the prejudicial influence of the *Univers*, the dangers to the Holy See of the alternate patronage of France and Austria: all these points receive some elucidation in the course of the

volume. Personal reminiscences abound. It sounds strange to hear de Mérode talking of the pernicious influence of a Frère Orban as early as 1848. What, again, could be happier than his exquisite little compliment to the Abbé Liszt, when the latter was staying at the Vatican—"Monsieur Liszt, you are delightful to listen to . . . even at the piano!" We come across also an interesting and pleasing recollection of our present Holy Father, Leo XIII., in a letter of de Mérode's, dated Dec. 10, 1855. The then Cardinal Pecci was a great admirer of the wonderful reforms which de Mérode had effected in Rome, in the matter of prisons, reformatories, hospitals, roads, &c., and wished to introduce the same ameliorations into Perugia. The Cardinal's former acquaintance with Belgium (as Nuncio) led him to introduce Belgian Orders of nuns and brothers into his diocese. De Mérode writes:

The good Cardinal, spite of his apparent coldness, shows the greatest zeal in his diocese. He has put his seminary on the best possible footing, and is now restoring his fine cathedral. He is anxious also to put on a new and better footing the many charitable institutions with which the town is filled. I found in him an incredible activity. On every side fresh streets and roads are being opened, and new gates made in the ramparts.

Have we not here a true picture of Leo XIII.?

We cannot conclude this notice without expressing our regret that the translator has not given the book a more thorough revision before going to press. Slips and mistakes in names simply abound. We have the Count de Mérode called the "widow" of Maria Pignatelli (p. 338—evidently *veuf* in the original); Liszt is everywhere called "Listz" (p. 294-5); on the very title-page de Mérode is styled "Archbishop of Melitensis," a form which is really the *adjective* to Melitene; the late Cardinal Dechamps, of Mechlin, is miscalled either "Déchamps" or "Deschamps;" in p. 242 we have the "New Hollandists" (!) for the New Bollandists; on p. 233 few people would recognize, under the Abbé de Solesmes, the celebrated Dom Guéranger, Abbot of Solesmes; "the two remaining sons and daughters" (p. 8) is scarcely a correct way to express *four* children—i.e., two sons and two daughters; elsewhere (p. 20) a person is said to "refuse the Curé of Notre Dame"—of course he refused the *cure*; on p. 22 the "Prefect of Studies" means the prefect or master who presides in the study, and not what it seems to imply. Again, who is "St. Aloysius de Gonzagua?" (p. 227), or what is the "Church of St. Eloi" in Rome? (p. 223), or the "Via Nationale?" (p. 256); and why is the well-known Archbishop of Cologne, Mgr. von Droste, allowed to appear as "de Doste" (p. 230). We surely cannot say the *Univers*, *who* had taken the initiative, and *who* had gone far, &c. (p. 87), nor the heart of *he who* governs (!) (p. 139). We have indicated these slips among several because we think it is a pity to let the reader of so interesting a book be irritated by such constantly recurring inaccuracies, which a few hours' careful revision ought to have swept away before the work was issued from the press. If it ever reach a second edition, perhaps our *corrigenda* (and we have noted more) may prove useful.

L. C. C.

Breviarium Romanum. (2 vols. in 18mo.) Tornaci : Desclée, Lefebvre et Socii. 1887.

THIS new edition of the Breviary bears the approbation of the Congregation of Rites, and is, as to paper, type, and woodcuts, in the best style of the well-known Tournay Press. It is peculiar in being full and complete in two volumes; the first volume going from Advent to Whitsuntide, and the second from Trinity Sunday to the end of November. This is an arrangement which historical liturgists will recognize as an old one. It is not a novelty therefore, but a return back upon ancient practice, and will, we expect, for its convenience, soon win the favour of the clergy. The present edition costs only fifteen francs.

Bibel Atlas. In X Karten nebst geographischem Index von Dr. RICHARD VON RIESS, Domkapitular in Rottenburg. Zweite Auflage. Freiburg : Herder. 1887.

CANON VON RIESS sends us the second edition of his excellent Bible Atlas, which has won for itself wide and deserved popularity among scholars. Two of the ten maps of which it is composed show the topography of Jerusalem, and the results of recent discovery in Babylon and Assyria; the varying fortunes of the Holy City can be traced from its foundation to the seventh Christian century. The Atlas is accompanied by a complete index of Bible places.

In the Way. By J. H. London : Burns & Oates. New York : Catholic Publication Society Co.

THIS is a charming little story of "what things were done in the way" (St. Luke xxiv. 35), in an English village where a Catholic chapel and school were opened, and how some of the villagers "knew Him in the breaking of bread"; that is, were attracted to the church by the priest's teaching regarding the Real Presence. The purpose of the story is very interestingly worked out, though the controversial effect is perhaps rather too much dependent on the instructions of Father Tempest, and might have been more artistically and effectually treated, subjectively, in the development of the mental struggles of the new converts. Also we may say that the story has too many merits not to raise genuine regret at its sketchy character and abrupt ending; we feel that more ought to have been made of two such studies as Bessie Penfold and Fanny Bert. As it stands, however, "In the Way" is an excellent story, amusing at first, afterwards pathetic; it will be a welcome addition to lending libraries.

Life of Mother St. John Fontbonne, Foundress of the Sisters of St. Joseph in Lyons. Translated from the French of the ABBÉ RIVAUX. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1887.

A RELIGIOUS congregation which combines the active with the contemplative life, which has branches in four continents, and counts its members by tens of thousands, might be expected to have produced some master-mind, and in this the Sisters of St. Joseph do not disappoint us. Their canonical existence dates from 1651. Their founders were Monsignor De Maupas, Bishop of Le Puy, and Rev. Jean-Paul Médaille, S.J. A very special feature about this wide-spread institute connects it with the venerable Order of the Visitation. St. Francis de Sales, we need not tell our readers, was thwarted in the main purpose he had when he established his Order. His own witty words are clear on this point: "They call me," he used to say, "the founder of the Visitation! Could anything be more unreasonable? I have done what I did not wish to do, and have failed in what I wanted to do." The ideal of the holy Bishop of Geneva was an Order of women who should not only watch and pray within the cloister, but also go out and relieve the wants of the poor. This ideal, which Church discipline did not favour at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was taken up forty years later and realized by Father Médaille. The congregation grew in esteem and numbers up to the time of the French Revolution. Its first beginnings and the virtues of its founders, with the story of its almost total extinction in 1789, are given in a well-written and succinct introduction to the *Life of the holy religious whom the Sisters of St. Joseph rightly hail as their restorer.* Mother St. John comes out in these pages as possessing moderation in difficulties, order in affairs, seasonableness in time, and consideration in words. From childhood to old age she is an example for women living in any state of life. Her courage at the foot of the guillotine, her simple trust in God, her love of holy poverty, her devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and to St. Joseph, but most of all, her solid and unaffected humility, often severely—we were going to say cruelly—tried, are lessons much needed in times like ours. We wish space allowed us to give some extracts, either from Father Médaille's admirable letter on the Spirit of the Institute, which reminds us of Blessed Peter Fourier's golden advice to the Congregation of Notre Dame, or from the adventures of his spiritual daughters in their American, African, and Asiatic foundations. We are glad to see that there are four houses of these nuns in England—viz., Newport (Mon.), Devizes, Westbury, and Malmesbury. This book is a valuable addition to our stock of spiritual works. May it soon find its way into every community library. We would remark that it is not a mere translation, but a skilful adaptation of the learned Abbé Rivaux's book.

Once upon a Time: a Collection of Stories and Legends. Reprinted from the *Ave Maria*. Notre Dame, Ind.: Office of the *Ave Maria*.

OF the sixteen stories collected into this little volume, those predominate which relate convent school-girls' days and school incidents. This ought to be stated, as a boy would care very little, if at all, for them: they are somewhat "goody" in tone. The other pieces, legends, and stories are much better told, and are excellent reading, as "The Black Robe's Prayer," "The Miracle of the Holy Family," and "How a Russian Nobleman found the Pearl above Price." These are worth the purchase of the volume, which will be liked in schools and parochial libraries. One or two of the tales are very American in local incident and historical reference, as well as, occasionally, in expression: is it not appalling on this side of the Atlantic to read of a girl "memorizing her lessons?"

Friedrich Overbeck. Geschildert von MARGARET HOWITT. Herausgegeben von FRANZ BINDER. 2 Bände. Freiburg: Herder. 1886.

WHEREVER Christian art is valued the name of Frederick Overbeck is held in the highest esteem. He marks a new departure in religious painting in our century. He is favourably known to Englishmen through the excellent memoir written in 1882 by Mr. Beavington Atkinson, who, himself an artist and a historian of art, did his best to immortalize the name of Overbeck. Also, it was for an English gentleman that Overbeck undertook one of his most thoughtful pictures—"The Victory of the Faith of St. Thomas the Apostle." Originally composed for Mr. Rhodes, it afterwards went into Mr. Beresford Hope's collection. English artists and Catholics generally will doubtless be glad to hear of the above full and careful biography of Overbeck. Miss Margaret Howitt, the writer, is an English lady, a convert to the Catholic faith, and authoress of "Twelve Months with Fredrika Bremer in Sweden" (1866). There came into her possession, through her friend Mrs. Hoffman (Overbeck's adopted daughter), many hundreds of the great painter's letters. She set herself to write his Life, but certain reasons prompted her not to publish it in England. She placed her manuscript in the hands of Dr. Binder, the learned editor of the *Historische-Politische Blätter*, who has now published it in two volumes. Dr. Binder has done his part wonderfully well. The book is German both in its art criticism and literary style. To Dr. Binder's unwearied diligence also we are indebted for the thousand footnotes on matters collected by him in Italy and Germany, and which form a storehouse of biographical notices of the highest value to the artist. Overbeck was born of Protestant parents in Lübeck in 1789, and whilst still a child was deeply impressed by an old picture of Our Lady in the dark Catholic chapel of Lübeck. He afterwards proceeded to Vienna, and in course of time to Rome. In the capital of Christendom he embraced

the Catholic faith, and by his splendid gifts became the founder of a great school of Christian art, now known by his own name, the members of which were then known as the "Nazarenes." English and Irish readers will perhaps be astonished to hear that Overbeck and his friends were for some years settled in the Irish convent of St. Isidore in Rome, which at the beginning of this century was all but a desert. As to the merits of Overbeck's manner of painting, a distinction has to be admitted. As a painter, and in the management of his pigments, Overbeck has certainly his drawbacks, since his colours lack a certain vivacity and impressiveness. But as a composer he is second only to Raphael of Urbino; and it is justly claimed for him that he gave a new impulse and turn to the development of Christian art. He is indeed *par excellence* the Christian painter of this age; in proof of which assertion let any one peruse Count Montalembert's letter to Overbeck, given in the second volume of Dr. Binder's work (pp. 160-164). The volume also contains an accurate list of Overbeck's works, amounting to nearly two hundred larger and smaller compositions, some of which are made up of a whole series of individual pieces. All these splendid pictorial achievements, which attracted the greatest men of our century to Overbeck's studio in Rome, are the outpouring of the artist's deep religious sense. Overbeck had an intimate acquaintance with Catholic doctrine, and he, moreover, strove hard to live as a faithful Catholic, and it is just this harmony between the man and the artist that so powerfully enhances the value of his example. Two portraits of Overbeck, and not a few engravings of his religious pictures, enrich this splendid biography, a work which few are likely to peruse without considerable profit and entertainment.

BELLESHEIM.

The Rights and Dignity of Labour. By the CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

IN questions of social science few people seem capable of keeping themselves in a proper frame of mind. They are struck with horror at the sight of so many miserable lives among our people; and proceed to denounce wholesale production, machinery, and railways, or to invoke a *deus ex machinâ* to deliver them, in the shape of State Socialism; forgetting that a reasonable dog when struck will bite, not the stick, but the striker; and that to cure the evils of machinery by State mechanism is an extraordinary venture on homœopathy. Others calculate the wonderful saving of labour and increase of production due to the inventions of the last hundred years, and are so intoxicated (I mean, morally) as to be incapable of understanding that there is any problem of misery that presses for an instant solution; nor will they hear of the State interposing, lest the beneficent spring of invention be dried up—apparently on the principle that to prevent men doing wrong is to put a premium on stupidity, and that bridling the knaves means giving all power to the

fools. A third class of persons seem wiser, and claim to be impartial observers of life, but are really the most hopeless to deal with of all. They are the pickers and choosers, taking a little bit of optimism here, and of pessimism there, and so much *laissez faire* to-day, so much State Socialism to-morrow—all just as they fancy, without any principle. From their power of digesting contradictories they might be called (assuming the correctness of popular natural history) the ostriches of social science.

Under these circumstances the republication of the Cardinal Archbishop's lecture on the dignity and rights of labour is opportune. His Eminence writes of machinery *con amore*; he evidently has a real liking for a great power-loom doing any amount of work a minute, and hereby shows himself a true Englishman; for our national greatness is dependent on machinery. And indeed any mind is warped that has not admiration for man's subjugation of the earth and its forces, displayed in every great steamship, railway, or factory. But then his Eminence does not go on to write as though these wonderful contrivances were ends instead of means, or as though their presence was a security against misery and degradation. He emphasizes the dignity of all honest labour, even the commonest and most unskilled; and he is horrified at the abuses of overwork, and at the unhappy custom of mothers being in a factory all day, away from their homes. Listen to how he justifies the demand that the hours of labour be further regulated by law:

If the great end of life were to multiply yards of cloth and cotton twist, and if the glory of England consists or consisted in multiplying without stint or limit these articles and the like at the lowest possible price, so as to undersell all the nations of the world—well, then, let us go on. But if the domestic life of the people be vital above all; if the peace, the purity of homes, the education of children, the duties of wives and mothers, the duties of husbands and of fathers, be written in the natural law of mankind, and if these things are sacred far beyond anything that can be sold in the market; then I say, if the hours of labour resulting from the unregulated sale of a man's strength and skill shall lead to the destruction of domestic life, to the neglect of children, to turning wives and mothers into living machines, and of fathers and husbands into—what shall I say, creatures of burden?—I will not use any other word; who rise up before the sun, and come back when it is set, wearied, and able only to take food and to lie down to rest; the domestic life of men exists no longer, and we dare not go on in this path.

And he refers to the work of Lord Shaftesbury and to the Factory Acts to show that we have already begun legislation for the protection of the working classes.

Perhaps a chorus of contractors and middlemen will accuse the Cardinal of being a State Socialist, and a very artful one too. I will pass over the charge of artfulness, and keep to State Socialism, though I might have claimed for the author of "Cæsarism and Ultramontanism" an exemption from such a charge. Still, people are so confused over this very simple matter that a word may be in place. The essence of State Socialism is that the State (*alias* the bureaucracy) refuses to recognize any natural rights, notably those

of the family and of private associations, and becomes a universal provider. But it is not State Socialism for the State to interfere with its legislation *pro bono publico* in any secular field. Hence it is not State Socialism if families are forbidden to dwell in unhealthy houses; but it is State Socialism if the State takes from parents the choice of how they shall educate their children, and from children the responsibility of supporting their parents in their old age. Laws fixing a maximum of hours for the labour even of adult men, or compelling every one to be in some way insured, are not socialistic; but a law would be socialistic that expropriated all private factories, and made the State the one large employer, or which compelled every one to be insured at Government offices. I need not multiply illustrations. Enough that the Cardinal in this lecture urges the independence and authority of the family; nay, the very interposition of the State which he calls for is mainly to secure the liberty of family life, and urges, moreover, the organization of men of the same craft in private associations, combining employers and employed, like the guilds of old: all of which is thoroughly practical, in accordance with the spirit of the leaders of social reform among the Catholics of Germany and France, and, what concerns us here, in complete discord with State Socialism. Nor is the Cardinal among the Eclectics, or pickers and choosers. He is, indeed, so far in agreement with them that both he and they say the State may do some things and may not do others. But the Eclectics, with their opportunistic—that is, happy-go-lucky—moral philosophy, make the criterion of State action their own sweet pleasure and fancy for the moment; whereas with the Cardinal the criterion is no private standard of his own, but the old Christian doctrine on the nature of the civil power.

C. S. DEVAS.

Indifferentism; or, Is one Religion as good as another? By the Rev. JOHN MACLAUGHLIN. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

THIS is a book that is wanted. No one can observe carefully the tendency of the times, without seeing that it is strongly in favour of Indifferentism. What was condemned on this head long ago by Pius IX. in the "Syllabus," is still making way among the men of our own day. Lines of demarcation are fading away, the "liberal" spirit is gaining ground, and it is a favourite view nowadays that it does not matter what one believes, as long as we all aim at heaven; that all religions are good—one as good as another. This is, of course, a theory common outside the Catholic Church. The author of the present admirable little work aims therefore at reaching those who accept it. He is a man of wide experience, and has had many opportunities of knowing the position of the non-Catholic mind. He has seen the terrible power of prejudice, and therefore knows how hard it is for a Catholic priest to reach those outside the Church. "The man," he remarks, in his excellent introduction, "who has

lapsed into the wide and easy creed of Indifferentism is not likely to trouble himself with the stern claim of the Catholic church." He adds:

Hence, till you have banished entirely from his thoughts the conviction that one religion is as good as another, till you have cleared away from his mind the shifting sands of Indifferentism, you will not be able to lay in his understanding a foundation for definite faith. Or, as Cardinal Newman remarks, you cannot build in the aboriginal forest till you have felled the trees.

But while Indifferentism is the enemy of the Church of Rome, it is no less the enemy of the Church of England. It tends to destroy her, although it is her offspring. It has sprung from the free application of her great principle of private judgment. And the older it grows and the larger it becomes, the more seriously does it threaten her life. Through it multitudes of her members become an easy prey to infidelity. In fact, we may say it is a kind of preparatory school for infidelity.

When men are hanging only loosely to Christianity by the elastic thread of Indifferentism, a very slight influence is sufficient to make them abandon it altogether, and leave them without faith in anything beyond the world of sense. The theory that one religion is as good as another is next neighbour to the theory that there is not much good in any religion at all. If religion is only an opinion, then every religion may be wrong, since every opinion may be wrong. And as every religion may be wrong, there is no possibility of ever arriving at any certainty about those matters religion professes to deal with; the whole thing from that moment becomes lost in impenetrable darkness. . . . This state of mind gradually prepares a man for the wholesale denial of Christianity as a divine revelation; and hence the step from Indifferentism into utter unbelief is natural and easy.

The quick and fatal influence of infidel literature—"which is pouring from the Press like a deluge, and which threatens to submerge the greater part of the earth"—is then dwelt upon. "It preaches a new gospel—one just suited to their present state of mind," and its rising waves land its victims farther and farther from the house of truth and the ark of God's salvation, the Church of Christ. Yet Father MacLaughlin writes his book in the hope that he may reach even the Indifferentists. A Catholic can only wish God-speed to his zealous undertaking. He has endeavoured to write concisely and to present all the strongest arguments against Indifferentism in a clear, cogent form. We must say he has succeeded admirably, and whilst he gives us a great deal in a short space, he gives it us in a style that is pleasant and interesting to read.

After the explanatory introduction, from which we have made an extract, comes the work itself; it consists of a series of well-arranged chapters, and is divided into two parts. The first part comprises five chapters, which are all exceedingly good. In them the pernicious theory of Indifferentism is refuted in succession from Reason, Revelation, the history of the conversion of Cornelius the Centurion, the history of the Council of Jerusalem, and from the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. The arguments from each of these points of view are put forth with great clearness and force, and to any honest reader will prove irresistible. The second part of the work

consists of two chapters, headed "Unity" and "Universality or Catholicity." Having shown in the first part that it is clearly false to maintain that all religions are equally good, and that there must be one only religion instituted by Christ for the salvation of all men, the author proceeds to show that this one religion can be no other than the Catholic. In treating of the Church's "Note" of Catholicity the author has been particularly happy. He shows the meaning of her sole possession of potential universality, a mission and an adaptability to all the nations and ages; and then emphasizes the significance of her actual extension over the earth as compared with the growing spread of English or American missionary labours and Protestantism. The varieties, ethical and doctrinal, that make up the religion carried over the wide extent of the British Empire by the Church of England—supposing the Protestant missions were chiefly hers—can be no more one religion (and so Catholic) than the nations which compose one modern Europe can be an ethnical unity. The widespread extension of heterogeneous systems, contradictory and confusing, can never claim the "Note" of Catholicity for the net result.

We would recommend Father MacLaughlin's excellent little book to honest minds outside the Catholic Church, and also to Catholics themselves, who, as they will learn from it, are bound to maintain the truth of their religion with unfaltering voice and clean-cut phrase, not glossing it over to please non-Catholic friends or paring down its dogmas, but keeping clear and well defined the lines that mark off Catholic teaching from error and falsehood.

The Works of Orestes A. Brownson. Collected and arranged by HENRY F. BROWNSON. Vol. XX. Detroit: H. F. Brownson. 1887.

WE welcome the appearance of this, the twentieth and last volume of the complete works of one of the most powerful and trenchant writers of modern times. Mr. H. F. Brownson deserves the sincere thanks of the Catholic public for giving us such a splendid edition of his illustrious father's writings. The volumes are a rich mine of vigorous, stimulating thought, bold, independent criticism, historical and religious teaching, and, what is better than all, they are full of love and devotedness to the Catholic Church. Brownson was a man who was led by conscientious study, prayer, and the grace of God into the light and faith of the true Church. When the light and grace came, he followed without flinching their kind leading. He was a man of fearless honesty and frankness, and when he found himself in possession of the truth, he boldly proclaimed that truth to the world, and tried to lead men where he himself had found peace and joy. He was a man of his century, and quite alive to the progress of thought in modern times. He was full of passionate admiration of the Church into whose bosom he had been led, and he wished the men of his generation to acknowledge her sublime pre-eminence. Hence came his desire to reconcile the teaching of the

Church with modern science. In this he resembled Gioberti, Froeschhammer, and others, and hence his admiration for such men. But though, like them and others of similar aspirations, he was a bold thinker and writer, and enthusiastically desirous of reconciling the Church and modern thought, he was far greater than they in at once submitting his judgment to the Church as soon as she spoke. We certainly admire much the fearless critic, the truthful historian, the bold, outspoken moralist in Orestes Brownson; but what is still more grand and admirable is the faith that never wavered, and the childlike obedience to the Church, which never decayed.

This concluding volume is especially precious to us, inasmuch as it contains some explanations of, and apologies for, certain statements and sayings which, though not against faith, had been more or less unsound, and had brought their author under a passing suspicion with ecclesiastical authority. It is refreshing and consoling to us to read such a passage as this:—

I am not willing that my name should go down to posterity with the slightest suspicion resting on it of disloyalty to the Church; not, indeed, that I care much for it on my own personal account, but for the sake of the Catholic cause, which I hold dearer than life, and which I would not have suffer the least detriment through me or my ill reputation; and also for the sake of my surviving children, to whom I can leave no inheritance but that of an untarnished name. It was almost the last wish expressed to me by my late wife, whose judgment I never found at fault, that I should revive my *Review*, if only for a single year, and prove to the world that my faith has never wavered; that I am still an humble but devoted son of the Church, and that I am, as I always professed to be, an uncompromising Catholic and a thorough-going Papist. . . . I have no palinode to sing; I enter on no explanations of the causes of the opposition I encountered from some of my own brethren. Such explanations would be mistimed and misplaced, and could edify nobody. I willingly admit that I made many mistakes; but I regard as the greatest of all the mistakes into which I fell through the last three or four years that I published my *Review*, that of holding back the stronger points of the Catholic faith, on which I had previously insisted; of labouring to present Catholicity in a form as little repulsive to my non-Catholic countrymen as possible; and of insisting on only the minimum of Catholicity, or what had been expressly defined by the Holy See, or a general council.

I am not likely to fall into the same mistake again. My experiment was not very successful; and, besides, the Syllabus and the decrees of the council of the Vatican, published since, would protect me from it, if nothing else would. I have no ambition to be regarded as a *liberal* Catholic. A *liberal* Catholic I am not, never was, save in appearance for a brief moment, and never can be. I have no element of liberal Catholicity in my nature or in my convictions, and the times, if I read them aright, demand Catholicity in its strength, not in its weakness; in its supernatural authority and power, not as reduced to pure rationalism or mere human sentimentality.

What is most needed in these times—perhaps in all times—is the truth that condemns, point-blank, the spirit of the age, and gives no quarter to its dominant errors; and nothing can be more fatal than to seek to effect a compromise with them, or to form an alliance with what is called liberalism—a polite name for sedition, rebellion, and revolutionism.” (Pp. 382-3).

We are glad that the great writer left these noble words written; they have the true ring of the manly directness and outspoken eloquence of the Brownson we loved so well in the palmy days of his vigour. They are a lesson and an example. We cannot refrain from also quoting a few words from the beautiful "Valedictory" with which he closed his *Review* for ever:

I have, and I desire to have, no home out of the Catholic Church, with which I am more than satisfied, and which I love as the dearest, tenderest, and most affectionate mother. My only ambition is to live and die in her communion. I love my Catholic brethren; I love and venerate the bishops and clergy of the Catholic Church, especially of the Church in my own country. I am deeply indebted to them beyond any power of language of mine to express. I hope I am grateful to them; but only God can adequately reward them. (P. 438.)

Once more we thank the editor for having given us a series of noble volumes, which will be a mine of wealth to us, and "a joy for ever."

"*Nobody's Child*"; or, *The Law Establishment*. By the Rev. A. MILLS. London: D. Lane & Son. 1887.

THIS is a well-timed, most excellent little book. It is meant to show that the favourite theory of the present defenders of the Anglican Establishment—viz., that it is a continuation of the Ancient British Church—is totally baseless and absurd. Father Mills literally knocks their theory all to pieces. The book is full of excellent matter, put in a clear, concise, and telling way. We recommend it to those Protestant writers of our day who are doing their best to smother the voice of a past which still cries out loudly that the Ancient British Church was *Roman* in doctrine and practice.

The Pleasures of Life. By Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

WE may make sure that any book coming from Sir John Lubbock will be worth the reading, because he is a man of wide culture, and has the gift of literary expression. This little volume contains the substance of some addresses pronounced by the author on various occasions connected with colleges and schools. They abound with sparkling things of the author's own, as well as those gathered from his extensive reading. There are chapters entitled "A Song of Books," "The Choice of Books," "Science," and "Education," and these the literary man will find especially enjoyable. But the whole book is full of good things, such as a refined, well-stored mind can pour out on favourite topics.

A Venetian Lover. By EDWARD KING. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1887.

MR. KING, better known in America than in England as a poet, has the power, rare at the present day, of telling a story in readable and fluent blank verse, and even of rising to a higher level of poetical eloquence in occasional descriptive passages. His present work is a dramatic monologue, in which a long-descended but impoverished Venetian noble tells the story of his attachment to the fair Californian whose modern wealth hires a tenancy in his ancestral palace. The romantic setting of Venetian scenery and history lend some of their charm to the graceful story interwoven with them, and are judiciously used by the poet to heighten its effect. The volume is brought out with all the modern æsthetic *luxé* of the thickest hand-wove paper, the widest margins, and the daintiest binding provided by the bookbinder's art.

Shamrocks. By KATHERINE TYNAN. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1887.

THIS pretty volume is of Irish origin, as its name implies, and the authoress has set some of her national ballads to graceful and melodious verse. The shorter lyrics, too, are full of music and feeling, and stirred with that vague wistfulness, like the wail of an Æolian harp, so characteristic of modern poetry.

Remains of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin. Their Explorations and Researches, A.D. 1886. Dublin: Forster and Co., Limited. 1887.

THIS somewhat peculiar title has been bestowed upon a heterogeneous collection of extracts more or less remotely bearing on the scanty remains of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin. We are treated to a passage from an "Essay on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture" by the late Thomas Bell; two pages follow from John J. McGregor's "Picture of Dublin"; next comes a short paper by Professor William Stokes, of Trinity College; then an extract from Sharpe's "Cistercian Architecture"; last of all, a lengthy quotation from Ferguson's "Hibernian Nights Entertainment." This kind of thing is wearisome, and entails constant repetition, and is surely unworthy treatment of the once famous monastery which played so large a part in the history of the Irish capital. St. Mary's Abbey, after being for three centuries in the hands of the Black Monks, and then four centuries in the hands of the White Monks, or Cistercians, has fallen low indeed when the very site of its church seems only a matter of conjecture. And for all that we gather from the publication under notice, it strikes us as far more probable that the conventual church stood on the south side of the cloister garth than on the north, as shown in the "problematical" plan at page 4. The church as there indicated is at any rate very unlike anything else in monastic architecture; the position of the transepts is almost

certainly inaccurately marked; and the fact that the slype (see plan at p. 8) is at the south side of the chapter-house, is enough to warrant us, in default of more definite information, in supposing the north transept, in accordance with the general custom, to have abutted upon it. Such a supposition, whether we regard the church as Benedictine or Cistercian, is by no means far-fetched; many of the older monastic houses—*e.g.*, Christ Church and St. Augustine's at Canterbury, Malmesbury and Gloucester, among the former; and Tintern, Dore, and Melrose, among the latter—have their churches on the south side of the garth. The chapter-house, which, to judge from the illustration (p. 19), is in sad need of restoration, must have been a noble hall; its general resemblance to the chapter-house of St. Augustine's Abbey at Bristol may perhaps be accounted for by the close connexion between that city and Dublin.

One or two minor blemishes should have been avoided: thus the number of abbeys of Cistercian monks known to the modern historian of the Order, the accurate Dom Leopold Janauschek, is only 728, not 1,200 as stated at p. 13; and to speak of friars (and Benedictine friars too!) of the year A.D. 1139 shows some want of regard for the fitness of things.

But having done with fault-finding, it is pleasant to say a word of praise of the care bestowed upon most of the engravings and plates: those of the tiles recently unearthed are particularly valuable and full of suggestiveness for modern buildings.

A great deal has yet to be done to illustrate the history of the religious Orders in Ireland. Would not a critical adaptation, with additions and views, of M. Alemand's "*Histoire Monastique d'Irlande*" (Paris, 1690) find a ready circulation?

La Bruyère dans la Maison de Condé. Etudes biographiques et historiques sur le fin du XVII. Siècle. Par ETIENNE ALLAIRE. 2 vols. Paris: Firmin-Didot. 1886.

FRANCE in the latter part of the seventeenth century was at the height of its glory, social, political, literary. Its Court, the most brilliant in Europe, gave the tone to less favoured centres of culture; its army was all but matchless in its organization, unrivalled in its commanders, unchecked in its victorious career. The statesmen of France were men of large views and of supple intrepidity of action and fertility of resource; her ecclesiastical régime combined the stern virtues of mediæval Europe with the polish and eloquence of the Renaissance; while the cultivation of letters, the refined and energetic oratory of her public men, imparted a character of ease and polish to society such as has rarely been equalled and never surpassed. It is to the France of Bossuet and Fénelon, of De Bérulle and Bourdaloue, of Condé and Madame de Maintenon, that we are introduced in these charming volumes of M. Etienne Allaire. With painstaking research and rare discrimination, lightly and yet thoroughly he tells the story of what may be called the inner life of

the best circles in France during the latter years of the seventeenth century, choosing as the text whereon to base what he has to tell us the remarkable career of a very remarkable man—John de la Bruyère. To the labours of earlier biographers—panegyrists, be it noted, all of them (for La Bruyère was singularly free from enemies when living, and time has justified the almost unanimous judgment of his contemporaries)—M. Allaire acknowledges his indebtedness, and modestly claims but little credit for the task he has so ably fulfilled. What he has done has been the examination of numerous and hitherto unexplored documents relative to the house of Condé, placed at his disposal by the Duc d'Aumale, in whose household at Twickenham he for many years occupied a position of great responsibility. While the Duke was engaged in compiling the history of "The Great Condé," M. Allaire, his son's tutor, was occupied with the same materials, endeavouring by their aid to elucidate some difficulties connected with the life of La Bruyère, who had, two centuries earlier, filled a similar post in the family of the founder of the Bourbons. The importance of the volumes in which he has published the result of his researches lies in the additional light they throw on a most fascinating period of French history, as seen by an observant critic, whose opportunities were of the best, and whose integrity was above question. La Bruyère's peculiar talent lay in reading the inmost feelings and motives of those with whom he was brought into contact; as one who knew him said: "Il semblait que la nature eût pris plaisir à lui révéler les plus secrets mystères de l'intérieur des hommes, et qu'elle exposât continuellement à ses yeux ce qu'ils affectent le plus de cacher aux yeux de tout le monde." This talent he assiduously cultivated, and from his early years it was his practice to commit to writing the observations and judgments he had made and formed. Thus it came about that he was able, though none was more astonished than himself, to take at once a high and recognized place among the thinkers and writers of his time, when his first work was given to the public. His early training was peculiar, and seemed little likely to result in anything but a wasted life. Born at Paris in 1645 of a well-to-do bourgeois family, he early manifested a certain precociousness which at times sorely puzzled his father and friends. Of a religious disposition, he had throughout life but scant respect for the Freethinkers, who were beginning to make a noise in the world:

Je sens qu'il y a un Dieu [he said], et je ne sens pas qu'il n'y en ait point: cela suffit; tout le raisonnement du monde m'est inutile, je conclus que Dieu existe. Cette conclusion est dans ma nature: j'en ai reçu les principes trop aisément dans mon enfance, et je les ai conservés depuis trop naturellement, dans un âge plus avancé, pour les soupçonner de fausseté. Mais il y a des esprits qui se défont de ces principes. C'est une grande question s'il s'en est trouvé de tels: et quand il serait ainsi, cela prouverait seulement qu'il y a des monstres.

Having received his education among the fathers of the French Oratory, and obtained the degree of licentiate in canon and civil law

at Orleans, which then shared with Poitiers the rare distinction of possessing a school of civil law, La Bruyère began to cast about for a profession, the more so as his father's sudden death made him regard the future with some anxiety. The times were changing—Richelieu in politics, Condé in warfare, Père Lingendes, S.J., in preaching, Pascal in writing, were setting up new standards of excellence in their several spheres, and amid the rival attractions of these divers states, La Bruyère was at a loss to choose. For some short time he had thoughts of embracing an ecclesiastical life, but wisely abandoned the idea, and turned instead to the bar. That, too, he soon gave up, when he saw, or thought he saw, that it no longer offered the brilliant attractions which it once held out. Such inconstancy was a subject of great concern to his uncle John, a worthy and prudent old man, full of common-sense but destitute of *esprit*, who saw in his nephew's youthful restlessness all the signs of an after-life of idleness and want. But the young man had ideas of his own, and had in his own original fashion determined to be a philosopher. The book which seems to have first given him any definite ideas was "La doctrine des Mœurs, tirée de la philosophie des Stoïques"; and a meeting with some of Descartes' early followers soon brought him within the charmed circle of that philosopher's admirers. Cartesianism, backed by the influence of De Bérulle, and supported by Bossuet and others, was rapidly making its way as the fashionable system of the day, and La Bruyère shared the prevalent enthusiasm, which, indeed, from his own early reasoning on the existence of God, must have been thoroughly congenial to his tastes. But the same religious instincts which led him to take up with a school which numbered among its members some of the best men in France, led him, too, to see the dangers that lurked in the materialism which its adversaries were quick enough to see hidden under its fair exterior. One good thing came of his connection with the Cartesians: he was promoted to the lucrative post of treasurer of France and general of finance "en la généralité de Caen." Too much of a Parisian to feel at home in a provincial town, La Bruyère, after making himself master of his new duties, retired once more to the capital. The crisis of his life was now approaching. Robbed by his valet of all his savings, and reduced to a state of philosophical penury which obliged him to use his wits for a living, he had the good fortune to be admitted to the inner circle of *savants* who paid their court to Bossuet. Fired by such surroundings, and anxious to imitate and emulate Fleury's "Mœurs des Israélites," La Bruyère set to work to translate Theophrastus' "Characters," a work which he afterwards (1687) published, with some additions of his own in a similar style—the famous "Mœurs ou caractères de ce siècle," a work which went through many editions, and brought its author no small repute. While thus engaged, Bossuet, who had been struck by his solid character and great attainments, obtained his appointment as tutor to the son of the Duc de Bourbon, and admission to the household of his pupil's grandfather, the Prince de Condé. Here he was able to mature his views and enlarge the already wide know-

ledge of men and manners which it had been the business of his life to acquire. His position in so illustrious a household enabled him to see all the great men and women of the times, their characteristics bad and good—their aims, wishes, intrigues, and rivalries. And what he saw, he, with his old habits still upon him, made note of, and reproduced in successive editions of his "*Mœurs ou caractères de ce siècle*," under the guise of classical dialogue and nomenclature, after the manner of his favourite Theophrastus. With a quiet refinement of style—the acquisition of his later years—and with as great an analytical power as certain of the modern English novelists, La Bruyère's reputation was quickly spread, and edition after edition, each with some new characters introduced or old sketches amplified, testified at once to the taste of the public and the ability of its favourite. It is with these closing scenes of La Bruyère's life that M. Allaire chiefly concerns himself, and, with the help of the Condé papers, we are able to see the keen and kindly old philosopher, as he walks and talks among the grand folk at Paris or Versailles, taking stock of the fashions and passions, the grandeur and the littleness of the men and women that made the history of the times. There is much that strikes us as new in these two volumes—many little side glimpses into the views and movements of French society in La Bruyère's time. The conservatism of the medical schools, the influence of Jansenism—La Bruyère was no Jansenist—the scandals of the Abbé de Mauroy, curé of the Invalides, and his retirement to the Abbey of Sept-fons, the mingled piety and paganism in the canon-poet Santeul, the admirable influence of Madame de Maintenon in the Court; these and a hundred other pieces of gossip are brought before us as La Bruyère saw them. Of English affairs there is something, but not so much as we hoped to find: the rift among English Catholics on the accession of William of Orange, the rejoicings at Paris on the rumour reaching that city that the usurper had been killed at the battle of the Boyne, some details of the household of the exiled royal family—and not much else. Of delightful little episodes there are many; and the story (ii. 594) of a certain *Salut* at Versailles is likely to become popular. We beg to offer M. Allaire our sincere congratulations on a contribution of uncommon interest to the inner history of *la belle France* during an eventful period.

Legends and Records of the Church and the Empire. By AUBREY DE VERE. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1887.

MR. AUBREY DE VERE is at once the most popular and the most unpopular poet of his day. He is popular in the sense that every volume which he has given to the public has been admired by competent critics as the work of one of the most poetical poets of the century, whose elegance of scholarship is only equalled by his intellectual eminence, and whose genius is not fettered by his respect, even in details, of the rules of his art. He is a true Irishman,

and has all the versatility of his gifted nation: he is now tenderly simple and devout, now eloquent and highly ornate; at one time profound, at another light and more than graceful; and all this is recognised by those who have least sympathy with the purpose of his poetry, and can only appreciate dimly the central idea, or catch the latent lights of those portions of it which are distinctively religious. In the best sense also he is unpopular, for he has chosen to devote all his power to the illustration of themes which he thinks the worthiest, rather than of such as can be made the topic of the hour. And he has deliberately made this choice; for he is not the victim of "fine phrenzy," and has shown himself able, on occasion, to express clear and perspicuous judgments on passing politics in very practical prose. If he is accounted obscure, his obscurity is that of the true poet, which, like that of the true painter, is due to his being greater than his audience and before his age. If he is not more appreciated in his own country than among Protestant Englishmen, it is because the patriotism of the author of the "Legends of St. Patrick" and of the "Legends of Ireland's Heroic Age," pure and profound and faithful though it be, is not the patriotism of these troublous times; just as the "Legends of the Saxon Saints" do not reflect the spirit of the unsaintly England of to-day, and the "May Carols" fail to find full appreciation from men to whom the Incarnation is a doubtful doctrine rather than the central fact of the history of our race. The popular appreciation of Mr. Aubrey de Vere's poems, says Sir Henry Taylor, "has not extended beyond the bounds within which the appreciation of Milton and Wordsworth and Coleridge was confined for about thirty years after the publication of their best poems;" but the fame that spreads most quickly lasts the least, and those who, like the author of "Philip Van Artevelde," have read these poems "many times over," will easily estimate how convincing is his prophecy of their future. "I have almost lived with them through the winter," he wrote nearly thirty years ago, "and the ever-growing effect of them almost convinces me of what I was only persuaded before—that they have another destiny before them than that which the world's present neglect would seem to promise." And now, as it seems to us, the time for the fulfilment of this is measurably nearer. While the great Catholic poet has worked and waited in patient indifference to the fame which he would not stoop for a moment to reach by "writing down" to a half-instructed audience, the world has learned some truths; and the scope of "Legends and Records of the Church and the Empire," though not a whit less elevated than that of the poems which have preceded it, is now more within the grasp of English readers than it would have been a quarter of a century ago. Though the mass of mankind may not yet have accepted the true view of the formation of Christendom, and its influence on all subsequent civilisations, few will seriously question the importance of the period, "more momentous than either the mediæval or the modern," as Mr. de Vere puts it in his valuable preface, "which bridged the gulf between the ancient world and that in which we now live," and held within it "the germs of whatever of primary value was subse-

quently developed." It is of this period that our great Catholic poet is the fitting exponent in the volume before us, and his exposition is of the most brilliant and attractive kind. The Faith of the Cross was victorious through the great gracious lives and glorious deaths of those who in the early ages of the Church "with Christ were nailed to the Cross." What then can be a better clue to the spirit of those ages than a succession of portraits of saints and martyrs from St. Thecla to St. Boniface? This Mr. Aubrey de Vere places before us, but not this alone. "Regarded as an ideal," he says "the Holy Roman Empire was surely the highest of political ideals"; and the poet, accordingly, of the period which begins with the Christian era and extends to the coronation of Charlemagne can hardly be content with mere individual portraits. Hence, we have not only the story of St. Dorothea, told in the simplest strain, but also stronger delineations of events and epochs which have made deep marks in history, however regarded. The giving of the Bible to the West is dealt with in a powerful soliloquy of St. Jerome, just before his death; and the politics of New Rome and its founder are presented in "Constantine in Thrace" and "Constantine at Constantinople" with all the vigour of Mr. de Vere's strongest style. The Emperor is represented in the former projecting the building of the new capital as the metropolis for a "Christian caliphate"; in the latter as thinking, when his death is only a few days distant, over his past life, and the failure of his design to create an Imperial Church under the Emperor's sway:

I willed to raise a city great like Rome,
And yet in spirit Rome's great opposite,
His city, His the Man she crucified.
What see I? Masking in the name of Christ
A city like to Rome, but worse than Rome;
A Rome with blunted sword and hollow heart,
And brain that came to her at second-hand—
Weak, thin, worn out by one who had it first,
And having it, abused. I vowed to lift
Religion's lordliest fane and amplest shrine:
My work will prove a Pagan reliquary,
With Christian incrustations froz'n around.
It moulders. To corruption it hath said,
"My sister"; to the wooing grave, "My home."

But finer far than these is the spirited ode on the crowning of Charlemagne and the Holy Roman Empire. The following lines, with which it opens, are a worthy index of its style and purpose:

That God of gods the universe who made,
Who speaks, and from the void rushed forth the stars,
He, too, their orbits shaped, their movements swayed,
Wrote on their brows in shining characters,
"God's flock we are: our freedom is to go
That way his finger points, with motion swift or slow:"
That God spake Law not less to Man: He said,
"Revere your kings; Good-will and Order cherish:
Live like Mine angels; not like beasts that perish:"
Primeval man obeyed.

Those earlier Patriarch kings were shepherds true :
 Bad kings came next ; on rival kings they preyed :
 From ancient wounds the blood welled forth anew,
 Till swelled the cry :
 " One king should rule the earth : One God there reigns on high."

The contrast between these poems and some of the simple lines in which tales of martyrdom are told is striking, and exceedingly effective. Indeed, the volume is a fair specimen of the many moods of the poet. Take for example the close of " St. Agatha " :

Blest Palermo ! Lullabied
 Was the babe by thy blue sea !
 Catana more blest ! She died
 Dowered with palm and crown in thee !
 Share with us your double boast.
 Happy land, for poor are we :
 Plead, among the heavenly host,
 Agatha, for mine and me.

Again, in the " Legend of St. Thecla " there is an exceedingly fine description of St. Paul's preaching at Iconium while " the eldest daughter of St. Paul " hears at her window, but does not see, the Apostle, and is converted. One by one the scenes of the ministry and passion of Our Lord are passed in eloquent review, as the maiden listens. For example we may take these two stanzas :

She saw that Garden of Gethsemane ;
 She saw God's angel hold the chalice forth
 High in both hands ; she saw those sleepers three ;
 Saw One Who knelt with forehead nigh the earth ;
 With aching heart she saw, the branches through,
 Those sacred blood-drops reddening grass and dew.
 And ever as those sequent pictures rose
 And to her spirit's vision clave and clung,
 She heard, like torrent flood that seaward flows,
 Through black ravines the cloud-girt woods among,
 Still heard that wondrous voice of him, the unseen,
 Which told of what must be, and what had been.

But it is idle to multiply quotations, for none can give the reader a fair idea of a volume which may be read and re-read, with the certainty that new beauties will become apparent the more the poems are dwelt on and understood.

Lord Macaulay declares that poetry is " the art of employing words in such a manner as to produce an illusion on the imagination, the art of doing by words what the painter does by means of colours ; " adding that " we cannot unite the incompatible advantages of reality and deception, the clear discernment of truth and the exquisite enjoyment of fiction." But the famous essayist was not thinking of a Catholic poet when this incomplete canon was laid down by him ; otherwise Mr. de Vere's latest volume would prove it incorrect at all points, and not merely incomplete. For in his latest work we have the " incompatible advantages " together in rare perfection, and the " exquisite enjoyment of fiction " is here intensified

by the feeling that the emotions awakened by the poet are not wasted on what is unreal, but concentrated on the realities of a great era in Christian history, to which his clear discernment of truth has enabled him to assign their true significance.

The Story of the Nations. Rome. By ARTHUR GILMAN. *Carthage.* By Prof. A. J. CHURCH. *Alexander's Empire.* By Prof. J. P. MAHAFFY. *Egypt.* By Prof. GEO. RAWLINSON. *The Jews.* By Prof. JAMES K. HOSMER. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

"THE Story of the Nations" is a series of popular historical manuals by divers hands, and of very varying calibre. The general average, considering the object aimed at, is good; but while some of the volumes attain to some excellence, it may be questioned whether others rise above mediocrity. They are written, for the most part, in a clear and attractive manner, and by freely suppressing minor details they make the great features of the various subjects stand out in a way calculated to arrest the attention of even the superficial reader. At the same time, one or two of the volumes so far issued will be welcomed by students of history. It was inevitable that Rome should find an early place in a series of the "Story of the Nations." Considering the number of first-rate compendiums of Roman history already in the field, it is not easy to produce a new one of only 300 pages, which will present any novel feature as a justification for its existence. Mr. Gilman, however, writes distinctly for children; and as boys are already amply provided with excellent school-books, we fancy this new venture must be patronized chiefly by girls and young ladies. However, that the "Story of Rome" supplies some want is evidenced by the fact of its having run to a third edition since its first appearance two years ago. Obvious misprints, such as "the Consulship of Pompey and Catulus" (p. 214), and "Abscences" (p. 235), are unpardonable in a third edition; unless, indeed, the latter is a sample of the American phonetic spellings which occur in several volumes of the series. We notice a few improprieties of expression, as on p. 180, where it is told how Jugurtha was dropped into "the watery chill" of the Mamertine prison, and also a few inaccuracies as to fact. Perhaps it would be hypercritical to quarrel with the use of the term "Consul" during the first fifty years of the Republic, but on p. 199 there is a serious blunder. Marius is there represented as commanding at the battle of the Colline Gate, which was not fought till B.C. 82, four years after his death; it was in B.C. 87, after Marius and Cinna had entered Rome without a battle, that Sertorius smote Marius' slaves as they were massacring and looting in the streets of Rome. We notice with surprise that Mr. Gilman speaks confidently on the origin of the Etruscans, a problem generally considered to have hitherto defied solution. Many theories have been elaborated in ancient as well as modern times, but not one of them can claim to hold the field; certainly Mr. Gilman's cannot, for whereas he says (p. 9) that

the Etruscan commonalty was "from Greece or its colonies," and speaks (p. 72) of Grecian art influencing Rome mediately through Etruria. Prof. Hosmer, in the "Story of the Jews," tells us (p. 45) that "the old Etruscan art is believed to-day to have been transplanted from Assyria." If the bulk of the Etrurians were Greeks, surely their language would present Pelasgic affinities. But these are minor points: the "Story of Rome" is interestingly and picturesquely told; our chief regret is that the hundred years' struggle preceding the fall of the Republic has to be somewhat hurried over, so that the great political lessons that give to Roman history a value peculiarly its own cannot be fully brought out. Some chapters at the end, giving a very fair account of Roman social and domestic life, compensate to some extent for this flaw.

"Carthage" is, we conceive, a sort of "overflow" volume to those on Greece and Rome. Next to nothing is known of Carthaginian civilization, art, literature, or social life; her history, apart from the wars she waged with Greeks and Romans, is all but a blank; she has left no abiding mark on history. Still, a detailed account of the Punic Wars had to find a place somewhere, and there was no room in the "Story of Rome." Prof. Church must be complimented on having made the most of a very unpromising subject. To compare his work with such well-known manuals as the Student's Greece and Rome, it appears that the wars carried on by Carthage against the Greek cities of Sicily are related in much greater detail, and so far forth the average student, who may fear to face Grote, will find much of interest; the Punic Wars are, on the other hand, better described, in our judgment, in the Student's Rome. Such, however, as read merely for amusement will, perhaps, derive more benefit from the more meagre account, and will probably carry off a fairly clear idea of Hannibal's campaigns. We notice that on p. 239 Prof. Church says that the Romans got possession of the Spanish hostages in the hands of the Carthaginians "by the treachery of the officer who had the charge of them;" if Livy is to be trusted, Bostar was outwitted by a clever Spaniard.

In "Alexander's Empire" Prof. Mahaffy has given us the most valuable contribution to the series that has so far appeared. He rapidly sketches Alexander's conquests, gives a clear outline of the vicissitudes of the several kingdoms formed by the disintegration of this Empire, enters in some detail into Hellenistic civilization and literature, especially at Alexandria, and traces at length the process by which the constituent parts of Alexander's Empire were at length absorbed by the rapacious Roman Republic. Any one who has studied the period will know what a perplexing piece of history it is; and to Prof. Mahaffy must be given the credit of having brought order out of chaos, of having thrown light on much intricate but skilful diplomacy, and of having produced a really interesting and instructive volume, although disfigured by a certain amount of girding at the writer's political opponents.

As has been seen, Prof. Mahaffy treats of the Egypt of the Ptolemies; the Egypt of the Pharaohs has a volume to itself. There

seems to be a divided responsibility in the "Story of Egypt." Canon Rawlinson is well known as a veteran in Oriental antiquities. The volume before us is a readable summary of a somewhat obscure department of study, which is advancing yearly with rapid strides, and in which results already ascertained have constantly to be checked by the most recent investigations. The "Story of Egypt" will no doubt satisfy the public for which it is written.

Prof. Hosmer begins by a very brief sketch of the Old and New Testament histories, interrupted by a lengthy digression on Assyrian antiquities and civilization, introduced on the ground that probably some of the cuneiform inscriptions were executed by Jews; then follows a lively description of the siege of Jerusalem, of the dispersion of the Jews, of their social state in the Middle Ages, and of the persecutions that befell them in different lands; and the volume concludes with an account of Spinoza, the Rothschilds, Sir Moses Montefiore, Gambetta, Disraeli, Heinrich Heine, the Mendelssohn family, and other distinguished Jews of recent times. This latter is the most interesting part of the book, and the best, because the most soberly written; it contains a very charming account in Felix Mendelssohn's own words of a musical interview he had with the Queen and Prince Consort. But the "Story of the Jews" has so many serious faults that it cannot be pronounced a success from any point of view. In the first place, the writer's thinly veiled unbelief, culminating in offensiveness at p. 127, where he styles St. Peter "a passionate agitator," and scruples not to call a Greater than him "an obscure disturber of the peace," will, we trust, prevent his book from becoming popular in English homes. Again, what is to be thought of the taste of an author who, in a work written professedly for the young, albeit "in the later stages of youth," deems it necessary to pillory George Eliot and G. H. Lewes as an example of an "irregular connection?" The mediæval period is rather an historical romance than a history; it is wrought up in a highly-coloured and imaginative style, but without any inconvenient adhesion to the trammels of historical accuracy. As an example, let us take the account of the massacre of the Jews at York in 1190. After describing the massacre at London, and telling how it spread to the provinces, Prof. Hosmer says: "The preaching friars, omnipresent, taught that the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre could well begin with a harrying of the Jews at home" (p. 190). Now the contemporary chroniclers, though they mention the authors of the riots, do not allude to monks or clerics as inciting the populace against the Jews; and monks and clerics though they were, they uniformly speak in condemnation of the massacres; and so far from being omnipresent in 1190, neither friars preachers nor any other friars existed before 1210. Coming to the tragedy at York, Prof. Hosmer says: "The people, fired by the exhortations of the monks, who promised salvation to such as should shed the blood of an unbeliever, and who themselves, cross in hand, in their cowls, led the attacks, soon made it plain that resistance was hopeless." It is well to reduce such fervid descriptions to the limits of historic fact. William of New-

burgh, who was living near York at the time, is the most reliable authority for what took place. He says that those responsible for the riot were some nobles and others, deeply in debt to the Jews; among them were some clerics, and also a certain hermit—an ex-canon—who took a leading part in the attack, and at last was crushed to death by a stone thrown from the wall. This hermit has grown into an indefinite number of monks. The other details given by Prof. Hosmer undoubtedly add colour and picturesqueness to his narrative; but this is not history. Prof. Hosmer goes on to tell how the Jews at length fell by their own hands, till at last the chief rabbi stood alone; “upon the congregation about him, man and maid, child and greybeard, had descended the everlasting silence.” Here again there is an inaccuracy. William of Newburgh says that some of the Jews refused to court a voluntary death, and offered to receive baptism if their lives were spared. The terms were agreed to; but on their emerging from the castle they were brutally and perfidiously slaughtered. We have examined this horrible episode at some length, so that a just estimate may be formed of the character of Prof. Hosmer’s volume from the historical point of view. Nor can the “Story of the Jews” be praised for its style. There is a profusion of exaggerated and often meaningless epithets, and a constant straining after fine writing, which soon becomes wearisome, and at last distressing. We may instance such expressions as “the robber winds of the desert, from rifling the bales [of the caravans], fling perfumes everywhere through the wilderness”; or the comparison of the French Republican wars to “an outpouring of molten zeal”; or the description of Bonaparte as “the earth-shaking man of destiny.” From what has been said, it may be concluded that, if the series of the “Story of the Nations” is to be of any lasting value, those responsible for its management must keep a keener supervision than heretofore on many of their contributors.

The Apotheosis of Antinoüs. By ELLA SHARP YOUNGS. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1887.

THE principal poem in Miss Youngs’ new volume is a classical drama in blank verse, turning on the crime of a sculptor, who by a miracle, the reverse of Pygmalion’s, has turned a living youth into marble, and so produced the Antinoüs of the Capital. Miss Youngs’ power of versification enables her to imitate antique forms with a considerable amount of success, but the subject is rather remote from modern sympathies, and her shorter lyrics will probably prove more interesting to the general public.

Edward the Black Prince. By DOUGLAS B. W. SLADEN. London: Griffith, Farran & Co. 1887.

MR. SLADEN describes himself on his title-page as an Australian colonist, and styles his work an epic drama, probably the first of that lofty type which has come to us from the Southern hemi-

sphere. It is in many respects a fine work, worthy of its heroic theme, but is rather a series of dramatized episodes from the life of the Black Prince than a true drama with a central motive and action.

"*Friend Sorrow.*" By Mrs. AUSTIN. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

MRS. AUSTIN'S pretty volume tells the story of two sisters, of whom one, heartless and selfish, deliberately plans to rob the other of her lover, and eventually succeeds in doing so. Thus the heroine learns the lesson taught by "*Friend Sorrow*," and is brought into the haven of the Catholic Church, while earthly consolation awaits her as well, in a truer attachment than that of her first weak inconstant lover.

Explanations of the Psalms and Canticles in the Divine Office. By St. ALPHONSUS LIGUORI. Translated by the Rev. T. LIVIUS, C.S.S.R. With a Preface by his Eminence Cardinal MANNING. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

THIS translation of St. Alphonsus on the Psalms, which has been brought out for the first centenary (August 2, 1887) of his death, "as a slight tribute of honour and filial piety to their Father on the part of all his children in these lands," is worthy of the occasion. Many of the Saint's spiritual works have long been available in English dress, but this one is now first translated, and it will, we feel sure, be warmly and widely welcomed—*why*, we cannot do better than tell by quoting the concluding sentences of His Eminence's Preface:

For all who are bound to the daily recital of the Divine Office it is of vital interest that they should be able to give not only a material but also an intellectual attention to the Psalms. It is indeed true that the fervent intention of the simple will prevail with God, even when the intellectual apprehension of the Psalms may be imperfect. It is with all a question of degree. The most learned will not apprehend all, and the least learned will apprehend much of the inspired words.

Nevertheless the work of bringing the Psalms home to us in English, as S. Alphonsus did in their vernacular to Italians, is of the highest utility. It will greatly help our intellectual attention in reciting the Office, and thereby make it a source of light and of sweetness in various measures both to the simple and to the learned. Father Livius has therefore, by his patient industry, bestowed upon us a gift for which we all owe him cordial thanks.

We venture to say that this last quoted paragraph speaks by anticipation the appreciatory reception which will be everywhere accorded Father Livius's volume in Catholic quarters. It is well, however, to bear in mind S. Alphonsus's purpose in writing an explanation of the Psalms. He sought to help those who use the Breviary. Now the Breviary is not an academical recitation, it is a prayer; and the Psalms are used by the Church in her liturgy and offices according to that traditional estimation of them and interpre-

tation which has always been one of her cherished possessions. This explains why S. Alphonsus esteems here so highly and limits himself chiefly — not exclusive, however — to interpreting and annotating the Vulgate Latin of the Psalms. Not only does he, himself, for reasons set forth in his Introduction, esteem this version as on the whole the best, but he prizes it as the ancient usage of the Church. For in this language have people and priest from earliest times to ours sung daily the unceasing praises of God in His Church, while doctors and saints have commented on it, explained it, and taught from it; and countless expressions in it have become household words in the mouths of Christians. And already, so early as S. Jerome's day, when he made a new translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew, the former psalmody had become so dear a part of the worship of clergy and monks and the faithful, that the adoption of his new translation could never be accomplished.

For the purpose of illustrating the Breviary application of Psalms and Canticles, we venture to think that many of the recent and more critical commentaries on the Psalms (even those—like, for example, Van Steenkiste's—which are by Catholics), are of no use to the unlearned, and are not much immediate help to the priest, because their first and chief care is to translate and paraphrase the Psalm from the Hebrew; and the constant clash of the familiar Vulgate with the new and often diverse diction of the Hebrew hymn is, even when you have mastered the latter, only a confusion and distraction in the recital of the Office. S. Alphonsus sought to help the devout mind to use the Psalms as a better, because better understood, vehicle of prayer and praise, and to give succinct explanations of some of the more obvious difficulties met with in them. And for that useful and valuable purpose we warmly recommend his excellent and brief commentary, often very touching, spiritual, and tenderly pious, as is the way of his writings on matters of devotion. To nuns and others, who know little or no Latin, the book will be of immense importance, as also to the devout laity, lovers of Vespers, of the Church's offices, of the Psalms as a devotion at any time. That the book will not be without its value to the instructed religious or priest we feel considerable confidence. The raising of the heart and spirit with warmer devotion and more filial affection to the God whom we are worshipping, is not always attained from the most satisfactory translation and scientific knowledge of the mere verbal expression of a psalm, and we acknowledge the fact with some reluctance, perhaps. Then may we turn for a few minutes to S. Alphonsus's less ambitious book with profit, before beginning the Hours. In his Introduction, the saint has sections on the difficulties and the text and versions of the Psalms, on their authorship, titles, &c., and on the attention and devotion required in reciting the Office. Then, in the body of the work, the Psalms and Canticles are taken in the order in which they come in the week's "Office," from the Invitatory psalm of Sunday's Matins to last Canticle of Compline.

Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.

1. *The Works of St. Alphonsus de Liguori*. Centenary Edition, Translated by the Rev. EUGENE GRIMM, C.S.S.R. The Ascetical Works. Vol. IV. The Incarnation, Birth, and Infancy of Jesus Christ. Vol. V. The Passion. Vol. VI. The Holy Eucharist. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1887.
2. *The Adorable Heart of Jesus*. By Father JOSEPH DE GALLIFET. With Preface and Introduction by Father RICHARD CLARKE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.
3. *Handbook for Altar Societies and Guide for Sacristans*. By a Member of an Altar Society. New York: Benziger Brothers. London: R. Washbourne. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1887.
4. *Maxims of Christian Perfection*. By ANTONIO ROSMINI. Third English Edition. Translated from the Italian. London and New York: Burns & Oates. 1887.
5. *Saint Teresa's Pater Noster*. A Treatise on Prayer. By JOSEPH FRASSINETTI. Translated from the Italian by WILLIAM HUTCH, D.D. London: Burns & Oates.
6. *The Martyrdom of St. Placidus*. A Drama in One Act. By a Benedictine Nun. Edited by ALBANY J. CHRISTIE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.
7. *Hope and Consolation in the Cross*. By F. ALEXIS BULENS, O.S.F. London: R. Washbourne. 1887.
8. *The Martyrs of England in the Reign of Elizabeth*. London: Thomas Richardson & Son.
9. *Instructions and Devotions for Confession*. For the use of Convent Schools. *Practical Counsels for Holy Communion*. By Mgr. DE SEGUR. London: Burns & Oates.
10. *Preparation for Confession and Holy Communion, and Thanksgiving afterwards*. By the Right Rev. Mgr. Canon GILBERT, D.D., V.G. London: Burns & Oates.
11. *Frequent Communion*. Translated from the French of Rev. J. B. BOONE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates.
12. *Christian Maxims; or, Tiny Flowers of Ars*. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1887.
13. *A Short Retreat in Preparation for Easter*. London: Burns & Oates.
14. *The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi*. Translated from the Italian, and edited by his Eminence the CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. Second Edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.
15. *Guide to the Archconfraternity of the Servants of the Holy Ghost*. Edited by the Rev. ROBERT BUTLER. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

16. *Maxims and Counsels of St. Alphonsus Liguori*. Translated from the French by Miss ANNA T. SADLER. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1887.
17. *The Salve Regina in Meditations*. By Father ANTONY DENIS, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1887.
18. *Clare Vaughan*. By Lady LOVAT. London: Burns & Oates.
19. *Contemplations and Meditations for the Feasts of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints*. Translated from the French. Revised by the Rev. W. H. EYRE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.
20. *Blessed Margaret of Salisbury*. By G. AMBROSE LEE. London: B. F. LASLETT & Co.
21. *A Guide for Priests*. By F. BENEDICT VALUY, S.J. Fourth Edition. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1887.
22. *The Office of the Dead*. New and Revised Edition. *The Burial Service and Mass for the Dead*. London: Burns & Oates.

1. **O**F the Centenary Edition of the works of the holy Doctor, St. Alphonsus de Liguori, brought out in English by his American sons, we have three more volumes to notice. The first, which is vol. iv. of the series, embraces the Saint's writings on the Incarnation; the second, vol. v., the Passion; and the last, vol. vi., the Holy Eucharist. Translation and notes are satisfactory. But we must repeat what we have already observed—that it would have been courteous to a distinguished English Redemptorist to have stated that, wherever it was possible, the Editor has printed word for word the translation brought out a quarter of a century ago by Robert Aston Coffin.

2. It is a satisfaction to the English reader to have the famous work of Père Gallifet on the Sacred Heart translated into his own tongue. It is a slight exaggeration in the Editor to say that all that has been written on the Sacred Heart since Père Gallifet's time is only a development of what he wrote in the work before us. It is sufficient to recall the names of Arnold, Dalgairns, Muzzarelli, and the late Father Roothan in his numerous encyclical addresses to the Society of Jesus, not to mention St. Alphonsus himself. A few notes would have been an improvement. This work was published in the first half of last century, and many things have happened since then. For instance, Margaret Mary Alacoque has been beatified; a note at p. 42 should have mentioned this. It would also have been interesting to have a notice of St. Alphonsus's comments on Père Gallifet's view. The holy doctor considered that the zealous Jesuit failed in his attempt to obtain the approval of the Feast because he rested his case partly on the ground that the heart was the sensible origin and seat of all the affections of our Saviour. This, of course, is not true physiologically, the brain (or nerve force) being the seat of sensible perception and feeling, and the heart being in reality a large muscular vessel. But as St. Alphonsus points out, the heart, as one of the primary fountains of human life, has a "principal share in the affections" of man; as, indeed, experience abundantly proves

(centenary edition, vol. vi. pp. 232-3). This translation is very skilfully done. The devotion to the Sacred Heart should be specially dear to English Catholics, because it is really true to say that it was in London that it was first propagated. The Blessed Margaret Mary received her first divine communication in 1674; Père de la Colombière conferred with her in the same year; and three years later, writing in London, he writes: "I have already suggested it to many people in England." Among those to whom he suggested it were certainly some of the martyrs who suffered in Oates's plot, and some representatives of the greatest names in England.

3. This "Handbook for Altar Societies," which appears with the *imprimatur* of the Bishop of Albany, is very minute and practical in matters relating to brass-work, lace, linen, silk, and other materials used in the sanctuary. It also gives directions for the making of vestments, &c. Sacristans will find it useful to consult as to the preparations to be made for services and festivals. There is also a feature towards the end of the book which we do not remember to have observed elsewhere—a list of symbolical or appropriate flowers to be used on each great feast of the year.

4. A carefully revised edition of the English translation of Father Rosmini's "Maxims" will be welcome to many. It will never, perhaps, become a popular book. The author not only writes in a somewhat crabbed and scholastic fashion, but he uses leading terms in a different sense from what they generally mean, as, for example, the word, "justice." To call religion and charity "justice" meant a very great deal to the illustrious writer; but it may be questioned whether the ordinary reader will quite appreciate it. But a book which makes Christians reflect on the fundamental ethics of Christian practice is extremely valuable, even though it may cost its readers a little study and thought.

5. The President of St. Colman's, Fermoy, has added to the obligations under which his excellent translations have placed us all by giving us another treatise of Frassinetti. That zealous and experienced writer has left an excellent little work in which he has condensed and commented upon the whole teaching of St. Teresa on "Prayer." It consists of two parts—the first containing her lessons on prayer in general, drawn chiefly from the "Way of Perfection"; and the second, her "Meditations" on the "Our Father." There is reason to think that the translator—who has done a difficult task extremely well—will be amply justified in judging that this treatise on prayer, at once so deep and so practical, will be of the greatest use to priests, religious and devout Christians generally.

6. A Benedictine nun has accomplished with middling success the task of telling the story, in a dramatic form, of the martyrdom of St. Placidus and his companions. The story is necessarily full of horrors and bloodshed, but only about half-a-dozen persons are actually murdered *coram populo*, the rest of the slaughter, with the rackings and scourgings, taking place behind the scenes, and the characters of the drama, when on the stage, giving themselves up

principally to talk. There is a great deal of very devout thought expressed in easy verse ; though the "language" of the pirate chief is of a nature to strain the rules and regulations of a convent stage. But perhaps the play is meant for the closet only.

7. A Franciscan father of West Gorton has written a little treatise on human crosses or sufferings. It is a magazine of instruction, exhortation, example, and devotion. Perhaps Father Alexis draws a somewhat exaggerated picture of life. Sinners are not by any means so "unhappy" as he makes out. Wives are not invariably, or even usually, so very miserable as he describes in the chapter entitled the "Crosses of Married Life." The English is fair, but there are here and there evidences of a foreign idiom, and a few slips in proper names, such as Nepvue.

8. A small *brochure*, the paging of which mysteriously begins with "37." It contains a brief memoir of twenty-four of the lately beatified martyrs, chiefly taken from Challoner's work.

9. A new issue of these useful manuals bound up together. The binding, or rather the stitching, of the copy before us, would soon give way if the book were used as it should be.

10. Dr. Gilbert, of St. Mary's, Moorfields, has done well in publishing this effective sacramental manual. It may, perhaps, be questioned whether it is advisable to treat "Attrition" so entirely apart from "Contrition." Surely the two states not unfrequently flow into each other, and the penitent who weeps over his crucifix may be safely considered to make an act of perfect sorrow. But the devout reader will find many beautiful acts of devotion expressed in fresh and striking language, and conveniently arranged for use.

11. An extract from Père Boone's "Manual de l'Association de l'Adoration perpétuelle" carefully rendered in English.

12. These "Maxims" of the Curé d'Ars seem to be translated from a compilation by the Abbé Monnin, though we are not expressly told that it is so. The translation is well done, the book is pretty, and the words of the venerable Curé are wonderfully striking and deep.

13. A Nun of the Visitation—at least so we gather from the *brochure* itself—has written some devout meditations for Holy Week, applying our Blessed Lord's passion to the daily life of nuns. The instruction is drawn chiefly from St. Francis de Sales and the Saints of the Visitation.

14. This new edition of the "Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi" need merely be mentioned.

15. In 1879 the Confraternity of the Servants of the Holy Ghost established by the Oblate Fathers of St. Charles in London was raised by Pope Leo XIII. to the position of an Archconfraternity. This little manual offers to the public, in a neat and accessible form, the facts connected with the establishment of the Confraternity, together with an account of its purpose and spirit, and various forms of devotion.

16. Another pretty little book of "Maxims." As we have already said of a book just noticed, it is hardly made for wear ; yet there are few collections that are more full of daily suggestiveness. Is St. Alphonsus the original author of this—"We must take amuse-

ments as we take poisons ; with a great deal of precaution and moderation, and only through necessity " ?

17. In the form of meditations on the " *Salve Regina* " Père Denis, of the Society of Jesus, has written an acceptable work on the Blessed Virgin. The Bishop of Liège, in a letter dated March 13 of the present year, says that " its copious, solid and accurate teaching will enlighten its readers." The Bishop of Tournai considers it " well stored with theology and full of unction." It has only to be added that the English translation is very well done, and that its arrangement makes it suitable for a " Month of Mary."

18. This is an account of the brief career of a young girl, a member of a well-known Catholic family, who died at the age of eighteen in the habit of the Poor Clares at Amiens. Her life and death display many marks of heroic virtue, and this touching record, put together by the skilful and loving hand of a relative, will be a precious treasure to her family and an edifying addition to English devotional literature.

19. Thirty-eight meditations for Feasts of Our Lady, and sixty-one for those of other Saints, form a welcome supplement to the four volumes already published by this anonymous Sister of Mercy on the Life of Our Lord. The volume is written on the Ignatian method. The writer has not, of course, been able to include a Saint for every day of the year ; she says she has chosen first those to whom devotion is most widespread, such as the Apostles, Founders of Religious Orders, &c. We find, however, no notice taken of such names as St. Benedict, St. Bernard, or St. Dominic, and several of the Apostles are left out ; whilst the Jesuit Saints and " Beati " are honoured with one, two, or three meditations. The book is, therefore, somewhat of a " family " affair, and as such will be valued by the Society, the Sisters of Mercy, and the congregations attached to Jesuit churches.

20. A dainty little volume in white vellum, containing a careful historical account of Blessed Margaret Plantagenet, together with much historical, genealogical, and topographical information. It is enriched by a fac-simile of the contemporary portrait now in possession of Lord Carington, a view of Farley Castle in Somersetshire, where she was born, and a genealogical chart, showing the descent of the Norfolk, Hastings and Bute families from Blessed Margaret.

21. Messrs. Gill send us the fourth English edition of Père Valuy's " *Guide for Priests*." It has grown to twice the size of the volume first brought out by Mr. Philp some quarter of a century ago.

22. A handy issue of the Office of the Dead, with Burial Service and the Mass, in Latin and English, without the music, price one shilling. The Burial Service and Mass are issued separately, stitched, for one penny. Perhaps it would have been better in the Burial Service (p. 55) to have indicated the proper place for the recitation of the Dirge. At p. 58 it is stated that the " *Ego sum* " with the " *Benedictus* " are said *when* the corpse is deposited in the grave ; that is, we suppose, *after*. But the rubric does not say this.

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Record of Roman Documents.

BEATIFICATION.—The ordinary Apostolic processes compiled in the Archiepiscopal Curia of Naples for the cause of the Beatification of the Venerable Servant of God, Fra Luigi del S.S. Crocifisso, Professed Priest of the Order of the Discalced Minor Alcantarines, died June 4, 1803. (*S. C. C.*, July 30 and Aug. 30, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Sept. 17, 1887.

DUPLICATION.—Priests forming themselves into a society for their spiritual benefit, and binding themselves in justice to say Mass for every member upon his decease, can fulfil their obligation by offering up the second Mass for that intention on days when they are called upon to say two Masses. A Parish Priest lawfully prevented from saying the *Missa pro populo* in his own parochial church may fulfil his obligation by saying it in the place where he is staying, provided another priest say Mass and preach in his, the parish, church. If this cannot be done, he must say it as soon as possible, and not wait for the next Sunday or Feast-day, thus having to say two Masses *pro populo* on the same day. (*S. C. C.*, Dec. 14, 1872; *S. C. C.*, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, July 23, 1887.

FUNDED MASSES, Dispensation from obligation of. Polish money left for Masses, &c., falls into the hands of the Austrian Government. The allowance to the clergy out of it being diminished, the obligation of these Masses becomes a great burden, interfering with fresh foundations, and leaving no opportunity for Manual Masses.

Past omissions condoned, and in future obligation to rest upon the clergy of saying one Mass for every ten shillings received from these funds. (*S. C. C.*, Jan. 29, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, June 18, 1887.

MAUNDAY THURSDAY.—The word "Sepulchre," as applied to the Altar of Repose, has no reference to the burial of our Lord, but only to the institution of the Blessed Sacrament. The word "Sepulchre" is made use of in official documents simply because it is the name commonly given to the Altar of Repose.

Any arrangement of flowers, statues, &c., which would convey the idea of the garden wherein Christ was buried, is forbidden. (*S. C. R.*, May 14, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Sept. 3, 1887.

MIXED MARRIAGES.—A letter from the Congregation of the Holy Office, dated July 21, 1880, and addressed to the Cardinal Archbishop of Strigonia, insists on the Catholic education of all the children of the marriage, and the removal of the danger of perversion of the Catholic party by exact compliance with the usual conditions prescribed by the Holy See. *Vid. Irish Eccles. Record*, Aug. 1887.

PARISHES, DIVISION OF.—The Sacred Congregation decrees the division of a parish in spite of the opposition of the parish priest.

The reasons were—the distance from the parish church, the difficulty of the road, the discontent of the people, and, above all, the *causa causarum*, the salvation of souls. (*S. C. C.*, Dec. 11, 1886.)

A previous decree had allowed the same, but only upon the death or removal of the present priest. (*S. C. C.*, July 12, 1884.) *Vid. Tablet*, July 2, 1887.

POPE LEO XIII., LETTER OF, addressed to Cardinal Mariano Rampolla, Secretary of State, containing a summary of his plans for the government of the Universal Church, with special reference to the question of the Temporal Power, dated June 15, 1887. *Vid. Tablet*, July 30, 1887.

Letter to Archbishop Corrigan, of New York, upon the difficulties raised by Dr. McGlynn, dated May 4, 1887. *Vid. Tablet*, June 11, 1887.

SCAPULAR OF MOUNT CARMEL.—The privilege granted by Pope Gregory XVI. in 1838 to the Confraternity of Mount Carmel, releasing them from the obligation of having their names enrolled in the Register of the Confraternity—withdrawn. And a petition to have the same privilege granted to the recipients of the other scapulars—rejected. (*S. C. Indulg. et S. Reliq.*, April 27, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 20, 1887.

The practice of conferring the five scapulars simultaneously—a privilege first granted to some religious orders during the time of Missions, afterwards widely extended—is to be discontinued after ten years from this date, and no fresh faculties for that purpose are to be granted; thus to show forth special honour to the most venerable and noble of all scapulars—that of our Lady of Mount Carmel. (*S. C. Ind. et Sac. Reliq.*, April 27, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, July 30, 1887.

TRAPPISTS.—Some good men having raised a doubt as to the approbation of the Trappists by the Church, the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars has declared that the Institute of the Trappists is approved by the Holy See as a part of the Cistercian Order. (*S. C. Epis. et Reg.*, Dec. 28, 1886.) *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Aug. 1887.

WILLS, COMMUTATION OF.—The burden left upon the Legatee being too heavy, a commutation is allowed by the Holy See. (*S. C. C.*, Sept. 18, 1886; and *S. C. C.*, Aug. 21, 1886.) *Vid. Tablet*, June 4, 1887, and May 28, 1887.

WILLS, RESPECT FOR.—Money having been left on the condition that the revenues should be distributed as dowries to the female members of the family, a male descendant seeks in vain to have a portion assigned to him as patrimony upon entering the ecclesiastical state. (*S. C. C.*, Jan. 29, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Sept. 10, 1887.

An annuity of £20 having been left for the foundation of a benefice by a gentleman, who afterwards changed his mind but did not change his will, the original will is to remain in full force. (*S. C. C.*, May 14, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Sept. 17, 1887.

OCTOBER, 1887.

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